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U.S. Army Starts To Withdraw Chemical Weapons

LD3007093990 Moscow TASS in English 0927 GMT 30 Jul 90

[Re TASS correspondent Sergey Kuznetsov]

[Text] New York July 30—The U.S. Army has started implementing the Golden Python operation. It envisages withdrawal of some 100,000 shells with nerve gas from U.S. bases in West Germany and their subsequent destruction on a remote atoll in the Pacific.

The first consignment of deadly weapons has already been airlifted to the West Coast of the United States whence it will be carried by sea to Johnston Island lying 1,325 kilometres south-west of Honolulu.

American journal TIME reports, however, that the Golden Python operation evoked the concern of environmentalists, as well as residents of Pacific islands.

Concern has already been expressed by the authorities of New Zealand, the Marshall Islands, the federated states of Micronesia, Western Samoa, as well as the American state of Hawaii.

They, specifically, are anxious over the fact that the facility for the destruction of toxic agents situated on Johnston Atoll has not enough capacity to eliminate all these weapons.

It was used last in 1971 to eliminate some 12,000 tons of chemicals carried by the U.S. Army from depots on the Japanese island Okinawa.

In this connection, governor of Hawaii John Waihee demanded that the enterprise's operation be checked over 16 months.

The U.S. Defence Department keeps in secret the date when the vessels will sail for Johnston Island, as well as all other information about these vessels, saying that they might become the targets for terrorists.

The calculations made by the U.S. Army indicate that if there is an accident when chemical weapons are carried by sea, an area with a radius of over 84 kilometres will be contaminated, TIME writes this is hardly a consolation to 12 hundred residents of Johnston Island which is only three kilometres long.

General Staff's Ladygin on Arms Talks Outlook

PM3107085590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Jul 90 First Edition p 5

[Interview with Major General F. Ladygin, chief of an (unspecified) USSR Armed Forces General Staff directorate, by an unidentified KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent; place and date not given: "There Are Difficulties, But They Can Be Overcome"—first two paragraphs are an editorial introduction]

[Text] Major changes are taking place in the world. M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the United States ended with significant results. The Warsaw Pact and then NATO have taken definite steps to transform both alliances from military-political to political-military alliances, with a view to reducing military confrontation in Europe and creating all-European structures of security and cooperation.

However, the material foundations for military confrontation—USSR and U.S. strategic offensive forces, the mighty conventional armed forces groupings and tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, chemical weapons, and major naval groupings—are still there, although it is well known that talks on many of these problems have been under way for many a year now. This begs a number of questions.

[Question] What is the state of affairs at the nuclear and space arms talks in Geneva following the Washington meeting between the USSR and U.S. presidents? Have there been any advances here? What are the main obstacles?

[Answer] The recent meeting between the USSR and U.S. presidents was an important stage on the road toward concluding fundamental treaties in the sphere of cuts in and limitation of armed forces and arms. The adopted decisions are of crucial significance for progress at the disarmament talks.

The documents signed in Washington regarding the fundamental provisions of a strategic offensive arms treaty, long-range sea-launched cruise missiles [SLCM's], and future talks on nuclear and space arms and on the further strengthening of strategic stability are of fundamental importance for the Geneva nuclear and space arms talks. They enshrine accords on such fundamental questions as the range of air-launched cruise missiles [ALCM's] and SLCM's—600km; the number of nuclear ALCM's on heavy bombers; and the rules for counting these missiles. A solution has been found to the problem of limiting nuclear SLCM's (a level of 880 units) on the basis of annual unilateral statements of a politically binding nature. Other important questions have also been "unraveled." The result is that there is a real possibility of completing the elaboration of a strategic offensive arms treaty and submitting it for signing by the end of 1990.

Of course, intensive, painstaking work still lies ahead at the Geneva talks. A quest is under way for mutually acceptable solutions on questions that have still not been fully agreed. They include quite complex issues, such as, for instance, the interconnection between strategic offensive arms cuts and compliance with the 1972 ABM Treaty. This is a key element in the nuclear and space arms talks associated with the need to consider the objective organic interconnection between strategic offensive and defensive arms. The reality is that a strategic offensive arms treaty can only function if the ABM treaty is observed in the form in which it was signed in 1972. It is inadmissible for strategic offensive arms and ABM defense to be separated. Our side has proposed ways of resolving this problem. Time will tell how events develop in this respect.

There is no need to list the other unresolved questions. They come within the purview of both the Soviet delegation at the nuclear and space arms talks in Geneva, and people here in Moscow. The main thing is to find mutually acceptable "solutions" in conjunction with our U.S. negotiating partners and to elaborate a treaty. The conclusion of a treaty would constitute a realization by the two great powers of their special responsibility for averting the threat of nuclear war and for strengthening peace and peoples' security.

[Question] Talks on conventional armed forces in Europe are under way in Vienna. Will it prove possible to complete the elaboration of an agreement by the end of this year? What is holding things up today?

[Answer] The agreements on conventional armed forces in Europe under preparation in Vienna are effectively the foundation needed in conjunction with the change in the political climate on the continent to ensure stability and create the future structure of European security.

I can say that there is complete mutual understanding at the Vienna talks between all parties. The talks are being conducted in a businesslike, dynamic way. This allows us to hope that the political decisions adopted by the Warsaw Pact and North Atlantic alliance states at the Moscow and London conferences to conclude an agreement by the end of 1990 will be fulfilled.

To all intents and purposes, the talks have now entered the final stage. Important questions of defining the categories of arms to be cut back, lists of the types of arms, information exchange, verification, and the procedures for eliminating arms have been agreed or are in the final stages of being agreed.

But there are also problems which have not yet been resolved. One being the problem of aircraft. We have made a number of major advances on this kind of arms with a view to attaining mutual accord. But not everything depends on us.

NATO countries are insisting that the future treaty encompass not only air force warplanes but also land-based naval aircraft, although naval forces, including naval aircraft, are not by mandate part of the talks. We are of course agreeable to reaching an agreement on cuts in naval aircraft too: however, not only land-based but also carrier-based aircraft, which form the basis of naval combat air forces in NATO, particularly as far as the United States is concerned. Cuts of this kind should be an integral part of separate talks on naval forces.

The Western countries also hold an unbalanced position with regard to the Soviet Union's air defense fighter force. It has developed as a counterweight to such U.S. offensive air weapons as strategic and carrier-based aircraft and long-range ALCM's and SLCM's, and is it designed exclusively to protect facilities in the heart of Soviet territory against airborne strikes. The country's air defense air force is unable to operate against ground-based facilities and poses no threat to other countries.

Other uncoordinated questions are also in need of solution. It is important to bear in mind the fact that the rapidly changing situation in Europe is having a great effect on the Vienna talks. The Western countries' failure to take these changes into consideration, their unyielding stance, and refusal to seek mutually acceptable solutions on various problems have held up the talks. Some Warsaw Pact states' withdrawal from their previously agreed positions, above all regarding the levels of sufficiency of arms for one country and national levels, does not help the negotiating process either.

We firmly cleave to the fundamental principle of the Vienna talks—equal security for all parties at all stages of the disarmament process. The difficulties that arise can be overcome.

[Question] How are things at the chemical weapons talks? What effect has the recent Soviet-U.S. agreement in this field had on these talks?

[Answer] The talks on banning chemical weapons entered their final stage at the Disarmament Conference in Geneva. The text of a draft convention, many of whose provisions have already been agreed, has been prepared. The convention envisages a broad range of verification measures, ranging from allowing international organs to check information regarding activity relating to the convention to accepting inspection on demand, without right of refusal, anywhere in the event of a suspected violation. Many of the participants in the talks think it quite possible that the work of preparing the convention may be completed within the next 18-24 months.

The Soviet-U.S. documents on the procedures for conducting inspections on demand and on the elimination of chemical weapons stocks and chemical weapons production facilities are of great importance for the elaboration of the convention, as is the USSR-U.S. statement of intent to be the initial parties to the convention.

The Soviet-U.S. agreement on the destruction and non-production of chemical weapons and on measures to facilitate the multilateral convention undoubtedly promotes progress at the multilateral talks on the elaboration of a convention. Without waiting for the convention to be concluded, the Soviet Union and the United States have pledged not to produce chemical weapons and to radically cut back—by more than 80 percent—their stocks of chemical agents. At the same time the USSR and the United States have said that a multilateral convention which ensures the elimination of all chemical weapons stocks worldwide is the best long-term solution to the problem of eliminating chemical weapons from military arsenals.

[Question] What are the future prospects in the sphere of talks to reduce and limit armed forces and armaments and to bring them into line with the concept of reasonable sufficiency? Are talks scheduled on tactical nuclear weapons and naval forces?

[Answer] The Soviet Union consistently advocates cuts in military arsenals, given strict compliance with the principle of equal security. That is our fundamental position. It fully accords with the principle of reasonable sufficiency, with an eye to which in-depth reform of the USSR Armed Forces is under way. The smaller the military danger, the fewer forces and weapons are needed to ensure the country's defense.

That is why we believe that the disarmament process cannot and must not be interrupted. One agreement must be followed by others. Moreover this process must be both deep and wide.

The Soviet-U.S. accord in Washington has already preordained that, following the signing of a strategic arms treaty, there will be further talks on nuclear and space arms and on the strengthening of strategic stability. The involvement of other nuclear powers, above all Britain and France, in these talks would indisputably further the aims of securing a nuclear-free, nonviolent world.

The problem of the limitation and reduction of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe is palpably topical right now. In the wake of the Warsaw Pact states, the North Atlantic alliance countries have come to realize this. However, I cannot agree that cuts in nuclear arsenals in Europe should be confined solely to nuclear artillery and short-range, ground-launched, tactical missiles, as NATO would like. Talks leading to the phased, total elimination of tactical nuclear weapons must include all nuclear components, including aircraft.

Now, prior to the close of the Vienna talks on conventional armed forces in Europe involving 23 countries, consensus has already been secured to all intents and purposes regarding their subsequent continuation, probably with a different mandate—with 35 states involved.

Our fundamental position regarding the need to begin talks to limit and cut back naval forces is beginning to meet with increasing understanding. Ruling naval potentials—where the United States and NATO have a considerable advantage—out of the talks, while evening out other components of the sides' military might at lower levels, would drastically upset the military equilibrium and undermine the entire disarmament process. Awareness of this, notably in Western countries, gives us reason to expect that this sphere—naval arms—will also be incorporated in the talks.

Afanasyev Views Need for Naval Disarmament

PM3007150190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Jul 90 Second Edition p 5

[Article by V. Afanasyev: "Banking on Strength. The United States Building Up Its Military Potential"]

[Text] It was a memorable event. A festive atmosphere, national flags flying, everyone in good spirits. President G. Bush delivered a speech to suit the occasion. It was the "baptism" of a new nuclear powered aircraft carrier, the George Washington, which was launched on that day, Saturday 21 July, from the slips at the Newport News (Virginia, United States) shipyard.

Fitted with two nuclear power units enabling it to develop speeds of up to 30 knots, the aircraft carrier represents an impressive force. It can carry 85 aircraft and a crew of 6,000 on board. U.S. journalists noted in this context that now there are six U.S. aircraft carriers in different parts of the world, with a further eight in U.S. ports, and each one of them, when at sea, costs the U.S. taxpayers $1 million a day.

An expensive pleasure, of course. But there is nothing Washington would not do for its favorite offspring—the U.S. Navy. After all, according to high-ranking Navy spokesmen, "even without the Soviet threat, modern aircraft carriers offer the President the necessary flexibility in his policy." Oh, this famous "flexibility!" Speaking at the ceremony to launch the ship, President Bush declared: "U.S. might is, like before, that force in the world which is of paramount importance for ensuring freedom.... We—and this is inevitable—are the leader of the free world's defense, a connecting link in the global alliance of democratic societies, the main factor of stability."

The Navy gives the United States considerable superiority in men, equipment, and weapons at sea, and the United States is firmly determined to maintain it. Is this not the reason why it refuses to conduct naval reduction talks with the USSR?

At the end of last year, during M.S. Gorbachev's meeting with G. Bush off Malta, there was no reply from the U.S. side to the Soviet side's proposal to start talks on naval reductions. Hardly anything changed after the summit meeting in the United States in late May and early June this year. Soviet-U.S. talks and the Vienna talks on naval reductions were postponed until the next stage.

The reasons for maintaining a high level of military expenditures, a sizeable proportion of which goes to the Navy, were substantiated by Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney when he addressed members of the San Diego Chamber of Commerce and of that Californian City's Council for International Affairs at the end of April. He emphasized that the high level of expenditure is due to the fact that the United States intends to preserve the existing system of alliances to which it belongs. These alliances, he noted, "are to a considerable extent based on our readiness to maintain forward-based forces abroad." Furthermore, the United States would like to "maintain the status of leading naval power." "We intend to have the forces," he added, "which were required to accomplish that which we did in Panama last December." And "we intend, like before, to have an industrial base enabling us to produce complex armaments." All these considerations, Cheney noted, demand major military expenditures "even under the most optimistic scenario for the development of relations between the United States and the USSR."

R. Cheney requested a vast amount—$295.1 billion—for fiscal 1991 which begins 1 October. On 1 May, however, the House of Representatives approved a draft budget providing for defense expenditure cutbacks of $11.5 billion. Even larger cutbacks—$13 billion—were introduced in the Pentagon budget version approved by the Senate. Consequently, during the second half of June, R. Cheney submitted to the leadership of Congress general proposals on the possibility of a 25-percent reduction of U.S. Armed Forces over the next five years. Including a reduction of warships in service with the Navy from 566 to 455. It was proposed to reduce the number of aircraft carriers from 14 to 12 (even though critics say that even six would be enough) and reduce the naval air arm accordingly. But these reductions do not affect the U.S. Navy's basic potential.

It is no secret that the U.S. Navy is superior to the Soviet Union's Navy by a factor of 2.5 in terms of major surface ships (battleships, cruisers, missile-carrying frigates), absolutely in terms of strike aircraft carriers (the USSR has no such ships for the time being), by a factor of 2.5 in terms of naval air arm aircraft, by a factor of 2 in terms of total fleet tonnage, and by a factor of 19 in terms of marines' numerical strength. "The U.S. stance in the naval sphere is clearly visible. Not to ease military pressure on the USSR from seas and oceans," Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev declared at the International Seminar on Naval Disarmament, held in Moscow last February. "To organize matter so as to ensure that the Navy remains one of the main—and maybe even the main—means to be used by the United States to implement its policy of strength toward the Soviet Union."

But the essence of the Soviet Union's proposals to reduce sea-based armaments [morskiye vooruzheniya] is not to weaken the U.S. Navy to such a dangerous level whereby it would be incapable of defending its country's state interests. The USSR proposes that the potential of confrontation between the U.S. and USSR Navies is reduced in proportion to the declining military danger in the world. This would also reduce military danger for the USSR from the oceans.

Of course, the North Atlantic alliance—in its London Declaration adopted by the alliance's session 6 July this year—proposed to Warsaw Pact Organization states the adoption of a joint document which would solemnly proclaim that "we are no longer opponents." The Soviet Union appreciated this. Such a step can certainly be only welcomed. But the distance separating words and deeds is still too great. Like before, the United States enjoys superiority in terms of sea-based armaments.

The U.S. Congress is currently trying to determine a military program which would effect the bulk of budget cutbacks in military expenditures. After all, the budget deficit, running to $169 billion, is necessitating amendments in the legislators' work.

A contribution was made by the Senate Armed Services Committee, which adopted a few days ago a special amendment to the draft 1991 military budget. It contains instructions to the Pentagon and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency to complete by 1 February the drafting of a report on the question of limitation of sea-based armaments, including nuclear ones. "Despite the fact that the administration, and the Navy in particular, is categorically against any measures of sea-based arms control, the Senate Committee would like to receive supplementary information on the contribution which could be made to the strengthening of U.S. national security by broader initiatives in the sphere of sea-based arms control," the committee's instructions note. "The time has come to stop saying 'no' to Soviet proposals on sea-based arms control," Ronald O'Rourke, well known military expert from the Congressional Research Service, declared. And P. Nitze, President R. Reagan's former adviser on disarmament problems, called for the liquidation of all sea-launched tactical nuclear weapons.

The presence of nuclear fleets and weapons on the seas and oceans is in itself dangerous and poses a certain threat to marine flora and fauna and to littoral countries. But there is also another important and dangerous factor. As of 1 July, the United States and its allies lifted export controls on nuclear firing mechanisms [vzryvateli]. Now, as THE WASHINGTON POST put it, it is possible "to buy these firing mechanisms at any East European store counter. This can be done by Pakistan, India, Israel, the Republic of South Africa, and any other country trying to develop atomic weapons." There are already 13 of them. At least there are 13 states that are close to having their own nuclear weapons. There is a great temptation here, especially if U.S. aircraft carriers, crammed with such weapons, are cruising off these countries' coasts.

The new aircraft carrier George Washington will be added to the list of already existing ones, and will become an additional source of international tension and potential radioactive contamination of seas and oceans. The question of extending the disarmament process to the opposed sides' navies is now more topical than ever before.

United States & Canada

Shevardnadze-Baker Talks in Irkutsk Previewed

LD3107083990 Moscow TASS in English 0808 GMT 31 Jul 90

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelyov]

[Text] Moscow July 31 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and United States Secretary of State James Baker will meet in the Siberian city of Irkutsk on Wednesday to discuss a wide range of international and bilateral issues. The two will hold three rounds of one-to-one talks, make a boat tour of Lake Baykal aboard the Voskhod steamer and hold an official luncheon and dinner.

On completing their talks, Baker and Shevardnadze will hold a joint news conference. In the run up to the meeting, newspapers in many countries wrote that Shevardnadze and Baker will limit their discussions to regional issues, focusing on Afghanistan and Cambodia. Baker came up with far-reaching proposals in Paris recently, saying the United States was prepared to begin direct talks with Vietnam and will withdraw its support for Cambodia's current representatives at the United Nations.

A senior Soviet diplomat, interviewed by TASS, said this "is a major, timely step in the right direction".

Baker and Shevardnadze are also expected to make progress on Afghanistan—speaking to reporters in Paris, the Soviet foreign minister pointed to new "interesting proposals" put forward by Afghanistan. The sides will also discuss the Middle East, Korean peninsula, Latin America and southern Africa.

It is impossible to imagine that the two leaders will not discuss disarmament, Soviet-American cooperation and European security, a senior Western diplomat told TASS. The treaty on 50 percent reductions of strategic offensive weapons is stil on the agenda, as is the European sunmmit in Paris, he said.

A Soviet Foreign Ministry source was even more blunt: Shevardnadze and Baker will discuss another Soviet-American summit meeting (this time in the Soviet Union) and economic aid for Soviet reforms.

Soviet perestroyka is in the interest of all nations, Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti said during his recent visit to Moscow, calling on the West to provide concrete help to the Soviet Union.

Soviet-American relations have become more open, frank and tolerant, and some now often talk about a "partnership" in superpower relations. Hopefully, talks in Irkutsk will serve to bring the sides closer still for the benefit of a common future.

Arrive for Talks 31 Jul

LD3107135690 Moscow TASS in English 1348 GMT 31 Jul 90

[by TASS special correspondents Konstantin Voitsekhovich, Vladimir Khodiy and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Irkutsk July 31 TASS—Irkutsk, an ancient city with a population of 630,000, will be the venue of the 16th meeting between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker on August 1-2.

Shevardnadze and Baker will begin talks in the "Retro" mansion in downtown Irkutsk on August 1. Once a house of a distinguished military leader, it was rebuilt in the late 1950s for a scheduled meeting between Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev and U.S.President Dwight Eisenhower.

The meeting did not take place, but since that time the mansion has hosted many foreign guests who toured Soviet Siberia. among them were Cuban Leader Fidel Castro, Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito, Libyan revolution leader Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, other foreign statesmen, and only recently, in May 1990, Princess Anne of Britain.

One session of talks between the ministers is expected to take place in Angarskiye Khotora, 57 kilometres from Irkutsk, near Lake Baykal, the world's deepest fresh water reservoir with picturesque shores.

Shevardnadze and Baker are expected to confer there in an unofficial setting and then take a stroll along the Angara River. They may want to angle in the Siberian river. Boats and fishing gear are ready for them in the village. The ministers' catch could include arctic grayling, lenok and omul, which abounds in these places.

The ministers have arrived in Irkutsk today.

Bush Receives Latvian Leaders, Ties Discussed

LD3107100990 Moscow TASS in English 0957 GMT 31 Jul 90

[Text] Washington July 31 TASS—U.S. President George Bush received at the White House on Monday Latvian Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis and Foreign Minister Janis Jurkans, who are here on a private visit.

The conversation focused on the situation in the Baltic republics, Godmanis told journalists later.

He said the Latvian government's policy seeks "a peaceful and gradual transition to an independent market economy and political sovereignty."

"We want to restore our independence 100 percent," Godmanis said, adding that "gaining independence will be a gradual process, it will require a certain amount of time."

During the conversation Godmanis expressed the wish for the U.S. Government to set up an information centre in the centre of Riga, to give economic aid to the private sector in Latvia, to encourage U.S. capital investments in teaching Latvian specialists in economics, political and international law.

Jurkans said that Latvia would like the United States to recognise its independent status. The American refusal to recognise the incorporation of Baltic republics into the USSR in 1940 is not enough, he said.

"But we understand the U.S. unwillingness to make this recognition now," Jurkans commented. According to Godmanis, Bush supported Latvia's peaceful and gradual transition to independence and promised to treat the requests seriously. Deputy press secretary Steve Hart told a White House briefing later that the American side made no specific commitments.

Commentary on Improving U.S.-Ethiopian Relations

LD3007214890 Moscow in English to Africa 1700 GMT 30 Jul 90

[Commentary by Vladimir Borisov]

[Text] An Ethiopian Foreign Ministry announcement says that at recent talks between Ethiopian Foreign minister Tesfaye Dinka and a delegation of the United States Department of State, Deputy Secretary of State Larence Eagleburger hailed a breakthrough in relations between the two countries. Here are the details from our commentator Vladimir Borisov:

For more than 10 years diplomatic relations between the United States and Ethiopia were at a level below the exchange of ambassadors. In plain language, that means they were simply very bad. Ever since Ethiopia overthrew its monarchy, the Americans did not like what they called the rigidly pro-communist, or to be more exact, repressive policy Addis Ababa pursued inside the country and its pro-Soviet foreign orientation.

All that was the natural result of the total political and ideological confrontation in the world. The situation is changing very swiftly. The regime of Mengistu Haile Mariam is in deep crisis and it is now prepared to make the most radical U-turns to keep in the saddle. The Soviet Union is phasing out military assistance to the Ethiopian Government and orienting relations with Ethiopia to humanitarian and domestic problems.

Late last year Addis Ababa, quite unexpectedly for some, restored relations with Israel. In so doing the goal for which Addis Ababa was striving, I think, was to improve relations with the United States. The Americans were being invited, so to say, to fill in a vacuum that was beginning to form in a strategically important part of the world, the Horn of Africa. Such notions as strategic interests still exist, despite the improving international climate.

But to call a spade a spade, Addis Ababa's diplomatic success was promoted by renunciation of Marxist ideals, its bid to reorient its economy to market relations, its agreement to cooperate with the International Monetary Fund, and its promise to introduce political pluralism within the country.

Finally, Addis Ababa gained a great deal by a bid to start a dialogue with the armed opposition. Incidentally, the unexpected refusal of the Eritrean insurgents to open Port Masawa to relief supplies for drought victims developed into an asset for Addis Ababa diplomacy. Because of the obstruction put up by the Eritreans, the heads of the foreign policy departments of Ethiopia and the United States jointly accused the opposition of irresponsibility and inhumaneness. To the United States, Addis Ababa's stance in the area of political and human rights now looks more attractive than that of its irreconcilable opponents.

During his visit to Washington, the foreign minister of Ethiopia discussed cooperation in extending relief to the drought victims as well as possibilities of resuming peace talks with the opposition. He met congressmen, senators, and members of the administration. and although the American side hinted that it was prepared to wait with regard to further normalization of relations, to see how consistent Addis Ababa would be in pursuing its new line, the visit was without doubt a success.

Ethiopian leaders managed to move forard in their bid to find a common language with Washington. I think now the two great powers, the Soviet Union and the United Staters, will have more chances of acting on joint plans for improving the situation in this war-torn and famine-tortured country. That, in my opinion, is the major point.

Natural Disaster Cooperation Talks Open in U.S.

LD3107081790 Moscow TASS in English 0724 GMT 31 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Matyash]

[Text] Washington July 31 TASS—Negotiations about widening Soviet-American cooperation in forecasting natural disasters and elimination of their consequences in emergencies and rendering assistance to those affected opened in Washington. This is the first such meeting at the level of the U.S. Agency for International Development and the USSR State Commission for Emergencies in the framework of the widening fruitful dialogue between the two countries.

The participants in the negotiations conduct debates, exchange experience in forecasting natural disasters, such as devastative quakes, and discuss ways to eliminate their consequences and render technological and material aid in emergencies.

Special attention is given to widening scientifically substantiated systems of the observance of quakes which take the toll of thousands of lives, as was seen in Iran and the Philippines.

The initial contacts show the readiness of salvage services in the USSR and the United States to pass on from scientific and technological cooperation to interaction in emergencies.

Andrew Natsios, director of Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance of the Agency for International Development, declared for joint solution of trans-national problems constituting a separate area of cooperation in the framework of the American-Soviet dialogue. These are the questions of environmental protection, including problems of global changes of the climate and interaction in eliminating the aftermaths of natural disasters.

In an interview with TASS, head of the Soviet delegation, Deputy Chairman of the USSR State Commission for Emergencies Vladimir Gorchakov noted the usefulness of Soviet-American agreements for the search and rescue of those in distress on high seas, and for the creation of a joint radionavigation system in the northwest Pacific and also for combatting pollution in the Bering and Chukchi Seas in emergencies.

He expressed the hope for the widening of cooperation with the United States in forecasting natural disasters and eliminating their aftermaths. The negotiations will be continued in Moscow where a delegation of American specialists is expected in September.

China

Chinese People's Congress Group Ends Visit

OW2807031090 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 27 Jul 90

[Text] The Chinese National People's Congress [NPC] delegation, headed by Peng Chong, vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, has ended its visit to our country.

The delegation came to our country at the invitation of the Soviet parliament. During the visit, the Chinese guests acquainted themselves with the work of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the local soviets of Leningrad and Yalta, a resort city on the Crimean peninsula in the south.

Last Saturday Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, received the Chinese delegation. In the course of conversation, he and Peng Chong noted with satisfaction the steady development of the good-neighborly relations between the Soviet Union and China after the May 1989 summit.

At a meeting with the Yalta City Soviet, an agreement was reached on establishment of direct ties between this resort city of the Soviet Union and Ningbo City of Zhejiang Province. It should be mentioned here that direct relations have been establsihed between Moscow and Beijing, Leningrad and Shanghai, the Ukrainian capital of Kiev and Wuhan.

On 26 July the Chinese NPC delegation laid wreaths on Lenin's Tomb and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldiers near the Kremlin. On the same day, the guests visited a city near Moscow where Soviet cosmonauts live and work.

The Chinese delegation left the Soviet Union for home on the evening of 26 July.

Anniversary of Chinese Army Celebrated

PM3007152390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Jul 90 First Edition p 5

[Report by Lieutenant Colonel V. Yevdokimov: "To Mark Anniversary"]

[Text] An exhibition to mark the 63d anniversary of the Chinese People's Liberation Army has opened in the USSR Armed Forces Central Museum. The opening was attended by generals and officers from the Soviet Armed Forces, Moscow Garrison troops, and representatives of the capital's public.

Major General Ning Wenyan, Army, Navy, and Air Force attache at the PRC Embassy in the USSR, addressed the gathering.

Northeast Asia

Rogachev Chides Japan for Opposing Western Aid

OW3007134790 Tokyo KYODO in English 1338 GMT 30 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow, July 30 KYODO—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev criticized Japan on Monday for opposing a Franco-German proposal to extend concerted Western financial assistance to the Soviet Union, Japanese officials said.

Rogachev told his Japanese counterpart Hisashi Owada that Moscow cannot accept any attempts to attach conditions, including political ones, to an international support plan for the Soviet Union.

Leaders of the world's seven major economic powers, who met in Houston on July 9-11, failed to agree on extending concerted financial support to the Soviet Union.

Japan joined the U.S. and Britain in opposing the financial support proposal which was pushed by West Germany and France. Japan based its objection particularly on the unresolved territorial dispute with the Soviet Union over four Soviet-occupied islands off Hokkaido.

Owada briefed Rogachev on Tokyo's position that intellectual and technological support, but not financial, is better at this moment for the Soviet Union, the officials said.

He also told Rogachev that Japan and the Soviet Union have yet to settle postwar problems, reiterating that a resolution to the territorial dispute is essential if Japan is to provide financial assistance to Moscow.

Owada represented Japan at a two-day high-level consultation with the Soviet Union, which opened in Moscow on Monday.

Both sides agreed to pursue common ground and possible cooperation toward Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Japan in 1991, the Japanese officials said.

Rogachev welcomed the Houston summit's agreement to back up Gorbachev's perestroyka restructuring efforts, saying that Moscow now understands that the West does not regard the Soviet Union as a political enemy any more.

Owada offered what he described as adequate Japanese backing for perestroyka.

The two deputy foreign ministers spent the first half of the opening-day session on discussions on East-West ties, overall international situations and European affairs. In the afternoon, the two men discussed mainly Asia-Pacific affairs, security, and disarmament issues, the Japanese officials said.

Owada offered Japan's support for Gorbachev's perestroyka and new thinking foreign policies which have been a key factor behind moves toward German unification, reforms in Eastern Europe and the close of the superpower cold war.

He expressed hope that these moves will spread to the rest of the world, the officials said.

Owada told Rogachev that Japan and the Soviet Union need to settle the territorial dispute and conclude a peace treaty in order to bring about similar changes in the Asia-Pacific region.

Following two days of consultations, Owada and Rogachev will hold another round on Wednesday in a working group meeting to discuss solely the conclusion of a bilateral peace pact.

Rogachev Proposes Talks on Asian Security Plan

OW3107011190 Tokyo KYODO in English 0041 GMT 31 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow, July 30 KYODO—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev proposed Monday talks with Japan on creating a new framework to discuss security, arms control and disarmament in the Asian region, Japanese officials said.

Rogachev told his Japanese counterpart Hisashi Owada that the Soviet side wants to discuss political and military issues in the Asian and the Pacific region at the time of Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's visit to Tokyo around September 5-6.

Rogachev denied any Soviet intention to strengthen its military capacity in the Far East. Noting concerns that some nations, including Japan, may upgrade their armaments, Rogachev castigated the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty arrangement.

Owada, representing Japan at a two-day high-level consultation with the Soviet Union, said that Japanese armaments are defensive and pose no threat to other nations. Owada defined the bilateral security treaty with the United States as also being defensive.

While positively assessing the Soviet decision to retire 120,000 troops, Owada said the Soviets still possess major military capability as a result of a long period of military expansion. But Owada agreed on the need to discuss military and political affairs in the Asian region between Japan and the Soviet Union.

Owada and Rogachev are expected to discuss international issues, including the Cambodian conflict and the Middle East situation, as well as more bilateral issues on the second day of consultations Tuesday.

Japanese Parliamentarian Continues Moscow Visit

Meets With Shevardnadze

PM3007145790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Talks with Japanese Parliamentarians"]

[Text] On 27 July USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze received the Japanese parliamentary delegation headed by Y. Sakurauchi, prominent politician and speaker of the House of Representatives, which is on an official visit to the Soviet Union.

During the talks E.A. Shevardnadze outlined a picture of the broad positive changes occurring in the world arena nowadays and drew his interlocutors' attention to the impressive progress made in the Soviet Union's relations with the United States, the states of West Europe, and many countries in the Asia and Pacific region, including the PRC and India, and in other regions.

Soviet-Japanese relations are not standing still either, the USSR foreign minister pointed out, and progress is being made in them. However, in terms of their dynamism they are still lagging behind the general rhythm of international life. The roots of what is good in them are still rather frail, and this requires an extremely responsible and careful attitude toward them, notably where individual statements are concerned.

For his part Y. Sakurauchi also advocated improving relations between the USSR and Japan, pointing out that this would accord not only with the two countries' interests but also with the cause of strengthening peace and stability in the Asia and Pacific region.

The Japanese parliamentary delegation left the USSR the same day.

Discusses Ties With Yakovlev

PM3007151790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 26 July Presidential Council Member A.N. Yakovlev met with a Japanese parliamentary delegation on an official visit to the Soviet Union headed by Y. Sakurauchi, speaker of the House of Representatives.

Questions regarding the state of and prospects for Soviet-Japanese cooperation in various spheres in the light of the transformations in the USSR and the strengthening of new tendencies in international relations, including the Asia-Pacific region, were broached in the talk.

A.N. Yakovlev gave the Japanese parliamentarians a detailed account of perestroyka's course in Soviet society. It was emphasized that the nascent transition to the market confirms the country's entry into a period of responsible and concrete practical steps in the matter of renewal which affect all aspects of society's life.

Japanese Ambassador to the USSR S. Edamura took part in the talk.

That day the Japanese parliamentarians laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at the Kremlin Wall.

Supports Increased Economic Aid

LD3007164790 Moscow TASS in English 1607 GMT 30 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Prokhorov]

[Text] Tokyo July 30 TASS—It is necessary to increase economic aid to the Soviet Union, prominent Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) activist Toshio Yamaguchi said today during a meeting with Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu of Japan.

He suggested that the Japanese Government's "indivisibility of politics and economy" course with respect to the Soviet Union be discussed. The course puts forward the demand that the Soviet Union transfer the "northern territories" to Japan, as a precondition for the development of trade and economic relations between the two countries.

Although official Japanese representatives say that LDP political activists support the government's position on the issue, many Japanese politicians call to modify the position, as President Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Japan draws nearer. Worried with the unnatural state of relations between the two neighbouring countries, they call for a compromise and search for ways to improve bilateral relations.

New Round of Mongolian Elections Start 29 Jul

LD2907050990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0430 GMT 29 Jul 90

[Report by special correspondent Sergey Pravdain in Ulaanbaatar]

[Excerpts] Polls opened across Mongolia at 0700 this morning. We have visited several of the polling stations in the Mongolian capital, and today—just as during the first knockout round of voting last Sunday—there are long lines at the polling stations. The high level of electoral activity is understandable, for these are the first free, multicandidate elections to be held in Mongolia since the revolution of 1921. The 799 candidates who received the most votes in the first round on 22 July are contesting the 430 seats in the country's supreme legislative body in today's elections. Some 136 of the candidates have been nominated by new political parties and organizations. Of course, there is a preference today for the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, which has great experience, funds, and a ramified party structure. But the new Mongolian parties are a genuine political force. [passage omitted]

The polling stations close today at 2200 local time. It has been announced that the official outcome of the election will not be given until the second or even third of August. But I should think that we will learn the preliminary results sometime tomorrow. We will inform listeners of the results as soon as possible.

Prospects for North-South Korean Talks Improve

SK3107035490 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 28 Jul 90

[Station commentator on North-South prime ministerial talks, from the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] ROK Prime Minister Kang Yong-hun and DPRK State Administration Council Premier Yong Hyong-muk do not play (?primary) roles in deciding foreign policy direction. Nevertheless, their talks will be symbolically significant in relations between the North and the South of Korea. The talks, agreed upon after one-and-half-years of complicated negotiations, reportedly will deal with the issues of alleviating the present military and political confrontation and of organizing multilateral cooperation and exchange between the North and the South.

The conclusion of a peace treaty between the two countries makes it impossible to separate the situation on the Korean peninsula from the present process of alleviating tension in the world. The high-level talks have the mission of removing the (?inconsistency) in the present world political trend. At the same time, observers carefully and prudently assess the prospect of North-South dialogue. Various proposals were put forward and various agreements were made between the two sides in the past. However, none of them has been pushed ahead because of various (?excuses).

This can be proven by the obstacles which have been laid before the pan-Korean meeting to be held at Panmunjom on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the country's liberation from Japanese colonial rule. The two sides announced the opening of their borders in Panmunjom on the day marking the anniversary of the liberation from Japanese colonial rule. Nevertheless, they put forward various proposals and counterproposals and denounced the other side by saying it is insincere and the like. They also made public their views on free visits between the North and the South (?through) Panmunjom. [passage indistinct]. However, the agreement itself on (?free mutual visits) between the North and the South constitutes first-step progress in the work to alleviate the situation on the Korean peninsula.

The previous ROK governments blocked such contacts between the North and the South, fearing that they would be expanded into anti-Seoul action by radical elements in the ROK.

Changes have taken place today. Seoul has adopted a flexible policy and has responded to a series of proposals advanced by the DPRK. It is clear that the abandonment of the policy of responding to one side's proposal with a counterproposal becomes an indispensable condition for effective dialogue.

Ministry Spokesman Welcomes Eased Korean Ties

LD3007195190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 30 Jul 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman has issued a statement on the situation on the Korean peninsula. Recent steps by both the Korean sides aimed at easing tension on the peninsula are welcomed in our country, the document notes, and it is anticipated that the planned meetings between the prime ministers of North and South will pave the way for constructive high-level talks. The Soviet Union is ready to assist in this process in every way, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman's statement says.

South Korean Trade Cooperation To Develop

LD3007214590 Moscow TASS in English 2119 GMT 30 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondent Oleg Polovko]

[Text] Moscow July 31 TASS—The arrival of a South Korean official economic delegation, expected on 1 August, will be an important practical step in the development of mutually advantageous trade and economic cooperation between the two countries, secretary of the Soviet-South Korean Economic Council at the Soviet Chamber of Commerce and Industry Georgiy Toloraya told TASS.

He said the South Korean economic delegation, headed by head of the president's Secretariat for Economic Issues Kim Chung-in, will discuss bilateral trade and economic cooperation with Soviet partners.

The need to develop stable trade relations between the two countries led to the opening of offices of the Soviet Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Seoul and of the South Korean Trade Promotion Corporation (Kotra) in Moscow in 1989.

This resulted in the growth of bilateral trade, which amounted to $600 million in 1989, compared to $160 million in 1988. This year, goods turnover is expected to reach $1 billion.

Many South Korean firms are interested in the establishment of effective ties with Soviet partners, especially in the machine-building, chemical and petrochemical industries and agriculture. The major South Korean financial and industrial groups Daewoo, Hyundai, Lucky Gold Star and Samsung have already opened their offices in Moscow.

Normal development of bilateral cooperation is hampered by the absence of investment protection in the Soviet Union and guarantees against double taxation and lack of freely convertible currency at Soviet enterprises' disposal, although they are ready to establish direct ties with South Korean firms.

Kotra Moscow office Deputy Director Pak Yun-pak believes the majority of the existing problems could be resolved, if the Soviet Union and South Korea had diplomatic relations.

The world press assessed the recent meeting between Presidents Mikhail Gorbachev and No Tae-u in San Francisco as an important step on the way to the establishment of full-scale bilateral relations.

Although during the meeting the two sides agreed to discuss the establishment of diplomatic relations in the context of the general improvement of the situation in the Korean peninsula and the Asian-Pacific region, the South Korean side believes the positive solution of the issue is to be reached soon.

South Korea does not conceal its interest in the development of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. In addition to considerable political dividends, South Korea pursues economic ends. The country's economy is currently living through hard times.

The growth of the country's gross national product has halved, compared to 1988. The competitiveness of the country's main export products has worsened and shade economy has become more active. The country's leadership sees the way out of the complicated situation in developing new markets, where there are no rivals yet.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

End to Khmer Rouge 'Bloodshed' in Cambodia Urged

LD2707185590 Moscow TASS in English 1742 GMT 27 Jul 90

[By TASS political observer Askold Biryukov]

[Text] Moscow July 27 TASS—About two thirds of U.S. senators welcomed the recent decision of the administration to change the U.S. stand with regard to Cambodia, but said that they regarded it as insufficient. In their letter to President Bush they urged the administration to begin direct talks with the Cambodian Government, to render assistance to that country and work for the early elections there under the observation of the United Nations Organisation. They opposed the administration's intention to continue to support the groups headed by Sihanouk and Son Sann, because they maintain military cooperation with the "Khmer Rouge".

Thus, the U.S. legislators have made another attempt to deprive the Pol Pot supporters of a possibility to seize power, using military assistance from abroad. This step, the same as the administration's decision, announced recently by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, not to recognise in the future a tripartite coalition headed by Sihanouk, as Cambodia's representative at the United Nations Organisation, as well as Washington's readiness to start talks with Hanoi on the Cambodian settlement were welcomed by all those who wish the old regional conflict to be finally settled.

It is an open secret that the "Khmer Rouge", who are guilty of genocide against their own people, have long been playing the decisive part in the tripartite coalition. During all those years they did not stop armed actions against Phnom Penh, which destabilise the situation in Cambodia, bring about a tremendous loss of life and block any attempts of the world community to find a political settlement to the problem. The latest example of it is the slamming of the door by the "Khmer Rouge" at the Tokyo meeting, where agreement was reached on the creation of a supreme national council. It could assume the functions of governing Cambodia during a transitional period and would be a symbol of its independence and sovereignty. If the council was created before the beginning of a regular round of talks of the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council on the settlement of the Cambodian problem, held recently in Paris, this would have settled the internal aspect of the problem and enabled the parties concerned to pass over to universal ceasefire and the preparation of general elections. However, when it came to signing a joint communique, the "Khmer Rouge" refused to do it and started active military operations instead.

The world community cannot tolerate any longer the situation, when the "Khmer Rouge" decide by themselves whether there will be peace in Cambodia or not. Four out of five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council have solidarized with the U.S. decision to change its approach to the settlement of the Cambodian problem. The "Khmer Rouge" must be forced to stop bloodshed. The establishment of peace in Cambodia can no longer be delayed.

Near East & South Asia

Belonogov Meets Visiting Israeli Secretary

LD3107050390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0300 GMT 31 Jul 90

[Text] Belonogov, a USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, has received Rubinstein, an Israeli Government secretary, in Moscow. During their talks the sides discussed the situation in the Near East and some aspects of bilateral relations. The Soviet side voiced its serious concern over the lack of progress toward a Middle East settlement. Belonogov focused particular attention on the impermissibility of a change in the demographic situation on the Arab territories occupied by Israel, not least through resettling emigrants from the USSR there.

Israeli Development of Chemical Weapons Assailed

TA3007180990 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Hebrew 1500 GMT 30 Jul 90

[Commentary by Dmitriy Prokofyev—read by announcer]

[Text] The U.S. Administration is prepared to seriously discuss in the next round of negotiations in the committee for strategic cooperation the possibility of establishing an independent Israeli chemical weapons potential. This was announced by the State Department spokesman. That was the U.S. Administration's reaction to the proposal by Science and Technology Minister Yuval Ne'eman to build up Israel's chemical weapons in order to neutralize the danger from Iraq and other Arab countries which already have these weapons. Our commentator Dmitriy Prokofyev has this to say on the subject:

When the media published Yuval Ne'eman's proposal, I was not taken by surprise and I was not especially concerned. It was made by neither the prime minister nor the defense minister. The issue over whether to develop an Israeli chemical weapons potential was not discussed in the cabinet, and as far as I know, it also has no intention of discussing the subject. In fact, this was an information offensive, nothing more. Furthermore, Minister Yuval represents Tehiya and not the Likud. His views are well known but only represent a relatively limited group of voters. By the way, whoever is at all interested in Israeli policy is aware of such tactics: A small party belonging to the coalition raises conditions unacceptable to the large parties so that they will enter into negotiations with it, while in the end they give it something in a completely different field. For the religious parties it was an amendment to the Law of the Return, or the Who is a Jew law. In return for giving up the demand in the Knesset for the amendment these parties receive places of honor on parliamentary committees and subsidies for yeshivas, etc.

For Tehiya, the key up to now has been the demand to build more settlements. At present it cannot demand new settlements since Tehiya is a signatory to the coalition agreement, which maintains settlement [words indistinct].

Professor Yuval Ne'eman decided to exert pressure on the government with his proposal to arm the IDF [Israel Defense Forces] with missiles with chemical warheads. That is what I thought, and that is what I believe circles in Israel also thought, but it appears that is not what the United States thinks. The declaration by the State Department spokesman is, in my view, very strange, especially since Washington and Moscow are preparing an accord on chemical weapons disarmament. The United States is also removing its chemical weapons from Western Europe. The United States, which is prepared to give up its potential for such weapons for mass destruction, plans to arm its strategic ally with them.

Everything is perhaps much simpler. When the administration provides legitimacy to the Israeli demand for chemical weapons, or it is perhaps more correct to say, when the administration raises this demand from the level of Israeli internal politics to the national level, only one thing can result: It can serve as an excuse for similar arming by several Arab regimes, including those at war with Israel. It is obvious that in order to neutralize the danger of chemical weapons there is a need for sophisticated and ultramodern measures. That means one cannot make do with the procurement of arms in Spain, India, or Brazil, and therefore the United States is the address. That means larger profits for U.S. firms belonging to the military-industrial complex. As for the Israelis, to be honest, I do not envy them in the current situation. In the Middle East there are too many hotheads prepared to press the red button at any moment.

Soviet, Egyptian Officials Eye Mideast Conflict

LD3107114190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 31 Jul 90

[Text] Tarasov, USSR assistant foreign minister and special spokesman on Middle East affairs, who is presently staying in Cairo, has had a meeting with Al-Baz, director of the Egyptian president's office and first foreign under secretary. Problems concerning the settling of the Arabic-Israeli conflict were discussed in the conversation. An exchange of opinions on the number of other issues concerning the situation in the region also took place.

Najibullah Comments on War in Afghanistan

LD3007183990 Moscow TASS in English 1808 GMT 30 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Kapustin]

[Text] New Delhi July 30 TASS—"The Soviet Union and the United States both are the international guarantors of the Geneva agreements. It is our hope that the foreign ministers of the two countries (meeting in Irkutsk, Siberia, this week) will consider the spirit of the agreements and the realities of Afghan society as the basis of their decisions or conclusions," Afghan President Najibullah said.

He was speaking in an exclusive interview with the editor-in- chief of the Indian newspaper HINDUSTAN TIMES, H.K. Dua, who noted that the Soviet and U.S. leaders had discussed the issue during their last meeting and reached agreement on settling regional conflicts in the world.

While expressing confidence that the forthcoming talks between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker should accelerate a peaceful settlement of the Afghan conflict, Najibullah added: "However, it is the Afghans themselves who should settle the problems relating to them and their country."

"An extended spectrum of our society is keen on a peaceful settlement," he said. "Only a number of terrorist and extremist elements who use the war situation to their advantage and are not concerned about people's interests oppose our peace plans and have isolated themselves."

"The world is seeing a detente and mutual understanding has substituted confrontation. And these Afghan extremists will have to face these world changes," the Afghan president declared.

Voicing optimism about an early Afghan settlement, he said the government had decided to open dialogue with all Afghan parties to the conflict. "While we fully believe that the main key to settlement of the Afghan conflict is with the Afghans themselves, we welcome any effort and initiative by other countries, especially the superpowers aimed at the cessation of war and the restoration of peace in Afghanistan," Najibullah said.

He emphasised that the only effective way for tackling the Afghan problem was a free and democratic election, for which a special mechanism had already been created.

Describing the consequences of the fratricidal war in Afghanistan, he said that 1.5 million Afghans had lost their lives and another five million became refugees. "It is for this reason that healing the wounds of war and rehabilitation of the country have become the prime objective of our policy. This policy which is aimed at restoration of peace and cessation of war and bloodshed was proclaimed three years and nine months ago as our state policy.

"Also we have invited the world to take part not in the heightening of the war but in ensuring stability and rehabilitation of our war-stricken land," the Afghan president said. "All Afghan individuals and party forces can play a responsible and fruitful role in the peace process," he stressed.

Belonogov Receives Iraqi Official on Ties

PM3107083990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 27 July USSR Deputy Foreign Minister A.M. Belonogov received A. al-Zibari, Iraqi minister of state, who is in Moscow for the Soviet-Iraqi Friendship Festival. They had a thorough discussion, during which key questions of Soviet-Iraqi relations and the situation in the Middle East region were touched on.

Soviet-Indian Commission Chairmen Meet

PM2707134590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meeting Held"]

[Text] During Indian Prime Minister V.P. Singh's official visit to the USSR a working meeting took place 24 July between the cochairman of the intergovernmental Soviet-Indian commission for economic and scientific and technical cooperation—L.A. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and I.K. Gujral, Indian minister of external affairs.

The sides examined the state of and prospects for mutually advantageous ties in the field of the economy, trade, science, and technology and the development of new forms of ties—joint entrepreneurship, production sharing, cooperation between the two countries' financial and credit institutions, and others.

An accord was reached on the completion, by the end of this year, of talks on concluding an agreement on reciprocal deliveries of goods between the USSR and India for 1991-1995 and on preparing a new long-term program for economic, trade, and scientific and technical cooperation between the two countries for the period through 2000.

A.S. Gonsalves, Indian ambassador to the USSR, USSR Ministers K.F. Katushev and S.V. Kolpakov, and V.F. Isakov, USSR ambassador to India, took part in the talks.

'Direct Confrontation' Forecast in Burma

BK3107131190 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 31 Jul 90

[Commentary by station observer Aleksandr Vladimirov]

[Text] Dear listeners, opposition candidates who were elected as people's representatives to the People's Assembly in the recent elections held a conference at the Gandhi Hall in Yangon [Rangoon] and issued a strongly worded statement of demands to the military regime. These members of the People's Assembly, who were welcomed to the conference by some 10,000 residents in Yangon, called on the military government to convene the new parliament in September, to arrange for talks with the leaders of the military regime, and to immediately release all political prisoners.

News agencies reporting the conference said all roads nearby Gandhi Hall were cordoned off by the military and the forces specially trained to suppress civil unrest. Our observer remarked that the demands made by the opposition must be considered very strong in light of the fact that they were issued after a statement of intent by the authorities last Friday.

The statement contains a clarification by the military regime that it will not hand over power to the People's Assembly elected in May. In addition, it is evident from that statement that the State Law and Order Restoration Council [SLORC] will not accept the People's Assembly adopting any interim constitution and forming an interim government. The SLORC has also warned that decisive action will be taken in accordance with martial law should the political parties decide to go ahead with such moves.

According to the thinking of the SLORC which is made up of military generals, the representatives elected in May cannot assume the highest authority of the state simply by convening a parliamentary session. Instead, the military leaders prefer to invite representatives from all mass organizations to a national convention. The SLORC says the national convention will provide guidelines on the basic requisites that should be included in the constitution, only after which does the SLORC intend to present the draft to the nation. In the meantime, all power will remain in the hands of the military.

The National League for Democracy [NLD] views the drafting of the constitution and the formation of the state administrative organs in a far different light than does the military government. U Kyi Maung, member of the NLD Central Executive Committee, explained to the journalists that the elections held in May were not to convene an assembly but to establish a legislative parliament, and this being the case, the NLD, which has won the mandate of the people, has already prepared an interim constitution to be passed at the first session of the new parliament. Taking into consideration the prevailing explosive situation in Myanmar [Burma], observers in Yangon conservatively remark that the opposition and the government are heading for a course of direct confrontation.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Commentator Discusses Situation in South Africa

MB2407162590 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Commentary by (Oleg Shalotin)—read by announcer]

[Text] It was reported that the South African president, Frederik de Klerk, and the leader of the African National Congress [ANC], Nelson Mandela, decided at the meeting in Pretoria to renew talks on 6 August. Yet the situation in the country on the eve of the talks remains extremely complicated. Commentary by (Oleg Shalotin):

The United Nations Secretary General Perez de Cuellar presenting the report on the situation in South Africa in the session of the United Nations General Assembly, stated that the events in South Africa testified to the fact that the problem of the dismantling of the system of apartheid by means of talks has begun.

Now, let me emphasize that [notion of] by way of talks. The world community today is attentively following the situation in South Africa, and hopes that its government and the African National Congress will demonstrate enough self-control and consistency in order not to start a dialogue with the help of weapons. And it should be said that there are enough supporters of a dialogue like that, both in the black and the white communities.

The chairman of the Pan-Africanist Congress, Zeph Mothopeng, is (?leveling) sharp criticism both at the country's government and the African National Congress, accusing the latter of betraying the interests of the black population. The slogan of the Pan-Africanist Congress—A bullet for each settler—too, has not been lifted from the agenda.

What is that—an unwillingness to understand the new political realities? I doubt it. Maybe it is an expression of some sort of envy for the African National Congress. The Pan-Africanist Congress remains practically outside the world process, and will not have an alternative if not formally calling for an armed struggle, although the doors of the hall of talks is [as heard] open to all.

The same accusations in betrayal [as heard], this time aimed at De Klerk, are issuing loudly from the camp of the white ultra-right. According to the president, this handful of madmen cannot be left out of one's reckoning today. This is proved by scenes of terrorist acts perpetrated by them in the past weeks. The arrests by the South African security forces of the members of the military faction of the ANC, who have secretly penetrated into the country, have poured oil on the fire. However, according to a statement made by one of the ANC leaders, Walter Sisulu, despite the arrests, the talks will begin on 6 August.

Of course, we can argue who is to be blamed in this situation—the authorities who have arrested the members of the Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation], or the ANC, defending its soldiers who have illegally come to the country. But the main thing is that neither this nor that side are [as heard] making any big scandal. An approach like that at such a responsible moment is full of hopes. The South African Government and the ANC leadership should be given credit that, in the extremely acute [word indistinct] situation, demonstrating political courage, sweeping aside the attacks from the left and the right, they are steadfastly approaching the next stage in the course of achieving a national accord.

Legalization of African Communist Party Noted

LD3007210590 Moscow in English to Africa 1700 GMT 30 Jul 90

[Commentary by Vladimir Valentinov—read by announcer]

[Text] In South Africa the South African communist party was officially proclaimed legal at a multi-thousand meeting in Soweto, African suburb of Johannesburg. Comments by Vladimir Valentinov:

This event has been timed for the 69th anniversary of the formation of the communist party of South Africa, the last 40 years of which it was forced to act underground. It is hard to believe that, because the South African communists were always the target of very cruel terror and repressions. But it is a reality of today's South Africa and it cannot but be welcomed.

The legalization of the activities of the communist party of South Africa has given rise to a reaction of the most diversified character in the country, from approval to denial. There are serious apprehensions that the spokesmen of the negative reaction are making use of the fact to try to disrupt the forthcoming talks between the government and the African National Congress. Long before the meeting in Soweto the Conservatives and the Right had begun to persistently spread rumors about the so-called red conspiracy, about the plans of the communist party of South Africa, after it becomes legal, to come to power in the country. Unfortunately many people from Frederik de Klerk's surroundings fell for the bait. By the way the president himself did not avoid the false apprehension and objected the inclusion of the general secretary of the communist party of South Africa, Joe Slovo, into the delegation of the delegation of the African National Congress at the forthcoming talks.

It seems the conjectures of those who had doubts should have been dispersed after the official meeting of the communist party of South Africa in Soweto, of course if we are to treat everything that was said there without bias but as a program statement of communists. Here are just a few excerpts from the speech of the general secretary of the South African communist Party, Joe Slovo. The South African communist party is trying to attain an immediate transfer of power in South Africa to the majority and a just redistribution of the national wealth. So where is this striving to usurp power? or: the South African communist party fully supports the idea of political settlement. All sides should now show maximum responsibility to carry it to the end. Can you blame the South African communist party in the desire to disrupt the talks? [as heard]

As was justly noted at the concluding part of Joe Slovo's speech, such accusations are brought up by real opponents of talks. They do not accept any democratic transformations into the country, the more so the legalisation of the communist party they hate so much. But despite the hindrances the South African communist party acted, is acting, and will act in the interests of the oppressed people.

Reportage on South African Politics Continues

PM3107101990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Third part of reportage by special correspondents I. Golembiovskiy and V. Pilyatskin: "Two Weeks in Republic of South Africa"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The struggle for influence was aggravated still further after it was announced in February that the ban had been lifted on the activity of a number of democratic organizations and the process of social conciliation began to gather speed. Now essentially only the two main forces—the Republic of South Africa [RSA] Government and the ANC [African National Congress]—are preparing for dialogue. But the day is not far off when they should be joined by representatives of other political orientations, including "Inkatha." Will its leaders meet with the ANC leaders as partners in a common cause or will they remain implacable enemies?

So far there is little ground for optimism. The announced meeting between N. Mandela and M. Buthelezi, on which considerable hopes were pinned, has not taken place. Speaking at a meeting in Natal, the ANC vice president called for the internecine strife to be halted and for an end to be put to the situation whereby Africans are killing Africans. But there was no corresponding response from "Inkatha." Although the recent resignation of the number two man in its hierarchy—party general secretary Oscar Dhlomo—attests, as our interlocutors said, to the fact that not everyone in Buthelezi's immediate entourage shares his implacable position.

Not a single sober politician today doubts that agreement is necessary between the ANC and "Inkatha"—a split in the general democratic movement is particularly beneficial to those who oppose the solution of the country's fate exclusively by peaceful political means. Especially as the ANC is also having to repeal the onslaughts of the Pan-Africanist Congress [PAC], which totally rejects any compromise with the authorities.

The PAC is kindling passions among young people in the African settlements of other provinces. Accusing the ANC of "betrayal," Leftist elements from the PAC are calling people to the barricades and proclaiming: "One white—one bullet." And, which is very alarming, according to sociological studies published in the RSA, the number of supporters of this grouping is growing. If the process of political settlement is protracted, then a mortal threat to the moderate center in the face of extremism from the left and right may arise—if it is not already arising—on the yeast of instability and disillusionment.

Everything is mixed up in this political cocktail: The Conservative Party members anxious to preserve the purity of Boer blood are flirting with the Zulu "Inkatha," PAC radicals are prepared to slaughter their blood brothers, those who advocate cooperation with the whites. The "black majority" which we, cut off for a long time from reliable information, had seen as monolithic, has upon checking proved to be split into many political currents. This circumstance of itself is becoming a source of serious upheavals in society, aroused by the social changes which have begun.

Cost of Sanctions on South Africa Examined

PM3107091190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Sixth and final part of "IZVESTIYA Reportage" series by special correspondents I. Golembiovskiy and B. Pilyatskin: "Two Weeks in the RSA"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Today South Africa has all its borders with independent African states. Some of them belong to the group of "front-line" states. We believe that this is already to a considerable degree a thing of the past. Peace is indivisible—the "cold war" is dying in Africa too.

The neighbors of the RSA [Republic of South Africa] were the first to sense this. The Namibian Government has established normal relations with it, and the Mozambican authorities are attracting South African businessmen to invest—these are the first pieces of evidence of a restructuring of internal African relations, and hopefully the process will continue.

As regards the world community, the economic sanctions imposed by the West have played their part, maybe belatedly. According to certain estimates, they cost the RSA between $32 and $40 billion. This was a telling blow. And the emergence of Frederik de Klerk with his radical reforms was to some extent a response to the lesson which the world taught the RSA political leaders.

The situation is changing now. The government believes that the sanctions hinder reforms, but the ANC [African National Congress] is insisting on a boycott until the changes in the political system become irreversible. Maybe each of the sides is right in its own way. But the civilized world is interested in one thing—the peaceful movement of South African restructuring toward a nonracial, democratic society.

Our position is extremely important. In RSA Government offices, in university and business circles, and in conversations with leaders of African movements we could sense almost with our skin how sensitive our interlocutors were to what reaches them from Moscow.

There was little that was attractive in our past relations. All official contacts were suspended in 1956. There were probably no uncomplimentary epithets that the two totalitarian systems did not confer on each other—there was a kind of piquancy here. The image of the "communist bear" ready to pounce upon the Afrikaners and cast them into the ocean was a favorite of South African propaganda. But, of course, we did not fail in this either.

Yes, the USSR supported the ANC. And, obviously, it will continue to do so, but we would like to hope that this is only in the desire to restructure society by peaceful means. At the same time we must not abandon our own state geopolitical interests; we foresee a time not far off when it will be impossible to imagine the mighty African continent without its most southerly part.

For your information: Despite the economic boycott, not one of the major Western countries, including the United States, has broken off diplomatic relations with the RSA.

Angolan Official Discusses Multi-Party System

LD3107084990 Moscow in Portuguese to Africa 1800 GMT 30 Jul 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] A delegation from the Ministry of Defense of the People's Republic of Angola has been in Moscow this week on an official visit. It was headed by Colonel Joao Lourenco, member of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] Labour Party's Central Committee, deputy minister of defense, and head of the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA] Central Political Directorate. He was interviewed by our correspondent:

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] As is known, a series of meetings have taken place between MPLA and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] delegations with the aim of attaining a mutually acceptable compromise and cease the bloodshed in Angola. Can you tell us how the talks are progressing?

[Lourenco] As you know, ever since Gbadolite we started having contacts with UNITA through a mediator, namely the president of the Republic of Zaire, Marshal Mobutu. Unfortunately, Zaire's mediating role has not been honored and for this reason our government chose to go over to direct contacts with UNITA. [passage omitted]

Unfortunately, at the last meeting the UNITA delegation walked out of the talks alleging the need to consult its top leadership, and since then we have been striving to bring about further meetings until we finally achieve an effective ceasefire and, of course, a lasting peace.

[Correspondent] What is your attitude toward the idea of a multiparty system being established in Angola? The fact is, it has not been ruled out that, once a ceasefire agreement has been attained and peace reigns, at least one more political party, UNITA, may join the MPLA in the political arena. And in this connection the question will arise of depoliticizing the Army, will it not?

[Lourenco] If we do indeed manage to attain a ceasefire, we will be going over to a multiparty system, as in effect was announced very recently at the end of the last session of the Central Committee last month. But I would like to rectify one point: As far as we are concerned a multiparty system does not signify a system consisting of two political parties, does not amount to the MPLA on the one hand and UNITA on the other. A multiparty system means lots of political parties. But, exactly how many? Well, there exists a whole series of factors that will determine how many parties will emerge in our society. The very fact of competition amongst themselves will result in the permanence of those that will best fulfill the prerequisites established by law, and in the disappearance of the smaller ones.

So I am not much of a believer in the existence of only two parties in our country in the context of a multiparty system. I do not believe it. I do not believe it and indeed I think it might not be healthy for our society. A multiparty system means the existence of as many parties as may arise, provided they meet the conditions to be laid down by law.

In such a multiparty system context, what will be the future of our Armed Forces? Well, with regard to the depoliticization of our Armed Forces, I would point out that we must not confuse nonpolitical with nonpartisan. Thus, there will be no depoliticization, for there is no such thing as nonpolitical Armed Forces. That is to say, the Armed Forces are a state institution which always defends the state's political principles, regardless of the party in government, whether it be of the Left, Center, or Right.

So, I would say that, yes, the possibility exists of a nonpartisan Armed Forces, that is to say, a situation in which none of the legally constituted political parties has an organization, an infrastructure within the Armed Forces. This is a variant adopted by a great majority of countries, particularly the Western ones. Another variant could be the existence within the Armed Forces of a party organization representing only the party in government.

This latter variant has some drawbacks insofar as whenever an election resulted in a different party taking office this would entail a corresponding change within the Armed Forces, that is to say, the party leaving office would have to dismantle its organization and the election winners would have to set up their own.

As to which variant we will adopt, I am not yet in a position to say. During this official visit we have just paid to the USSR we have had the opportunity of in-depth discussions of this matter with our comrades in the Soviet Armed Forces. We analyzed it from every possible angle, considered every possible variant, every possibility. But, we arrived at no conclusion. Neither we, nor indeed the Soviet side, have a clear position on the issue. But, there is no need to hurry. It is an important question and we will take it into account, are taking it into account. Back home we will continue to analyze the problem. We will be listening to many more views, not just from political cadres, but from other officers, citizens, and organizations, and in due course we will announce the outcome. [end recording]

[Announcer] That was an interview with Colonel Joao Lourenco, deputy defense minister of the People's Republic of Angola and head of the FAPLA Central Political Directorate.

Ethiopian Port Closed to Relief Organization

EA3007222990 Moscow International Service in Swahili 1730 GMT 29 Jul 90

[Excerpts] As Food and Agriculture Organization [FAO] spokesman has stated, UN experts failed to inspect the Port of Mitsiwa in Ethiopia so the necessary food assistance could not be sent to famine victims through that port. Our clarification on the matter follows:

A Danish ship carrying four FAO food experts was close to the Port of Mitsiwa for a whole week, but Eritrean People's Liberation Front [EPLF] rebels, who captured Mitsiwa in February, refused to grant the experts permission to land. The experts were required to assess the losses suffered by the port during the recent fighting and also to inspect the roads and the bridges on the roads to be used for food relief supplies. [passage omitted]

It should be noted that the FAO sent the ship following an agreement on the use of Mitsiwa for such a purpose.

I would like to remind the EPLF rebels of the proverb: You can lead a horse to a water, but you cannot make him drink. What is the meaning behind the rebels' attitude? Perhaps it is the usual attempt to encourage the government to accept their conditions. However, a solution to a problem such as famine cannot be delayed since four million lives of depend on a solution.

East Europe

Diplomatic Relations With Albania Restored

LD3007162290 Moscow TASS in English 1610 GMT 30 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow July 30 TASS—The Soviet Union and Albania have agreed to normalise their relations and reopen embassies in Moscow and Tirana, it has been officially announced here today.

The agreement was reached during talks between Soviet and Albanian delegations on June 29-30 in Sofia and July 30 in Tirana.

The sides were guided by a mutual desire to develop the relations of friendship and cooperation on the basis of sovereignty, equality and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, it was said.

The sides pledged to expand contacts in the political, economic, scientific, technical, cultural and other spheres. They will work jointly to restore and expand the legal basis of Soviet-Albanian relations, it was said.

'Long-Running Feuding' Resolved

LD3107092890 Moscow World Service in English 0810 GMT 31 Jul 90

[Commentary by Leonid Rassadin—read by announcer]

[Text] The Soviet Union and Albania have both announced normalization of their relations on Monday after three days of talks in Sofia and Tirana; commentary by Leonid Rassadin.

It was also announced that the two countries had agreed to exchange embassies to each other's capital very soon. The official communique speaks of a mutual desire to promote friendship and cooperation on the basis of respect for sovereignty, full equality and noninterference in each other's internal affairs. It is this civilized approach to issues under discussion that to a large extent brought a success to the talks.

A long-running feud is certainly not an easy thing to overcome overnight. The Soviet Union and Albania have almost had no contact for nearly 30 years, and propaganda campaigns in both countries sometimes led even to insulting each other. It must have taken both of them some tact and courage to be able to bury the past in the name of the present and future. No doubt Soviet-Albanian normalization was also due to a better environment in Europe. While the Soviet Union is firmly on course to reform its home and foreign policies, there has been a marked trend in recent times to gradual democratization of Albanian society.

Both countries have now made the first and perhaps most important step in an effort to settle their long-drawn political conflict. Concrete action will no doubt follow to promote wider-ranging contacts in areas of politics, trade, science, and technology and culture, as agreed at the Soviet-Albanian talks just ended for normalizing relations with each other.

Albanian Coverage on Restored Ties

WA3107152090

For Albanian media reportage on the visit by USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Kvitsinskiy to Albania, including the signing of a protocol for the normalization of bilateral relations between the Soviet Union and Albania and his meeting with Albanian Foreign Minister Reis Malile, please see the Albania section of the 31 July East Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Asylum Seekers in Bulgaria Cite Pervasive Crisis

LD3107074790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0530 GMT 31 Jul 90

[Report by correspondent Kseniya Golovanova from Bulgaria]

[Text] [Golovanova] Just recently two Soviet citizens—husband and wife—arrived in Bulgaria with a tourist group and sought political asylum. Their names are (German Shuveyder) and (Yuliya Tomashchuk). Both are history students from Krasnodar. They described the reasons for their decision in a political declaration. Bulgarian organizations undertook to care for the emigrants—the Independent Human Rights Movement and the Students' Union. German and Yuliya were housed in a student village and given material assistance. Now they have two main tasks before them. The first is to gain the status of political refugees. For now they are essentially people without documents. All they have are their internal Soviet passports, but without even Bulgarian visas. Their second task is to get back their son, two-year-old Fillip, who remains in the USSR. They are hoping that the International Red Cross will help them in this. The young people consider their decision to be final.

[Announcer] Well, to tell you the truth, I have ambiguous feelings about this report. My first reaction was that two students who abandon a small child are probably irresponsible and naive people. They seek political asylum, yet claim that they did not leave for political reasons. But then, when I heard the whole of their interview—which incidentally was broadcast on television—I felt sorry for them as human beings. At first sight this action would appear to stem from a conviction that they are right. But if you look at things more closely, you see desperation, uncertainty, and fear. It is sad that citizens of the Soviet Union are prepared to flee from their own country wherever they can, under any pretext available. Just so long as they escape from the nightmare of our day to day existence. And it is sad that we are talking about young people, among whom, incidentally, such feelings are fairly widespread.

CSFR Talks Focus on Ethnic, Other Problems

LD3107100190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0600 GMT 31 Jul 90

[Text] Academician Georgiy Arbatov, director of the USSR United States and Canada Institute, met in Bratislava yesterday with representatives of the Slovak scientific community. He talked with them about the internal political situation, economic and ethnic problems of the Soviet Union, and also about privatization.

Georgiy Arbatov will end his short visit to Czechoslovakia today, and then leave for Vienna.

News Conference Held on Polish Economic Ties

LD3007213790 Warsaw PAP in English 2017 GMT 30 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow July 30—The economic reform in Poland and prospects for development of economic cooperation between the USSR and Poland were major topics of a news conference held here today by Polish Premier's advisor, Minister Waldemar Kuczynski who had arrived in Moscow at the invitation from the Polish Embassy in the Soviet Union. Speaking about the restructuring of the CMEA, Minister Kuczynski stated that the unrealistic plan of forming a CMEA free market modelled on the European Communities should be given up.

The CMEA should be also freed from "the gigantic bureaucratic apparatus" still existing in the structure of the organization, the minister said.

A reformed CMEA must in no way restrict the economic freedom of its member states nor hinder their contacts with the EC, Kuczynski opined.

The minister considered the introduction of hard currency settlements in trade between the USSR and East European countries a difficult and complex problem. New terms of payment between Poland the USSR may even lead to a break in economic ties between our countries, he said.

Some of the Polish enterprises prepared for cooperation with Soviet firms may go bankrupt. A large part of the Soviet economic potential was created with Polish participation, therefore we should think about a transitory period which would make all hard currency operations less painful, Kuczynski said.

The minister also underlined that Poland is interested in expanding economic relations with the Soviet Union on mutually favourable terms.

Polish Foreign Minister Cited on Border Accord

PM3107122190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 29 Jul 90 Second Edition p 5

[Unattributed report under the general heading "Wirefile": "In Europe's Interests"]

[Text] Poland—The document on the Polish-German border which was discussed, amplified, and agreed at the Paris meeting within the framework of the "two-plus-four" talks fully meets Poland's vital interests, Polish Foreign Minister K. Skubiszewski has stated.

He was making a statement at a Sejm sitting, briefing deputies in detail on all stages of the talks which preceded the Paris meeting and on its results.

For the first time in the lengthy history of debates and disputes over the country's western border, international legal norms have been set down which, on the eve of Germany's unification, will result in the four great powers, the two German states, and afterward the united Germany having obligations beneficial to Poland: obligations without omissions, vagueness, or ambiguities, the minister noted. He described as very important the support given to Poland by the USSR and expressed in statements by USSR President M.S. Gorbachev.

During the Paris talks the Polish delegation did not confine itself to the territorial problem alone, K.

Skubiszewski went on. Three other questions were broached: The united Germany's continued observance of international treaties concluded between Poland and the GDR; the consequences of unification for Poland's economic interests; and the united Germany's political and military status and Polish-German cooperation.

Serbian Republic, Russian Federation Hold Talks

LD2707230990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1716 GMT 27 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow, July 27 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Republic of Serbia and the Russian Federation will [word indistinct] establish relations, said Serbian Premier Stanko Radmilovic.

Radmilovic explained the new stage in the relations as a result of the role the Russian Federation has following the proclamation of sovereignty.

The Serbian delegation, headed by Radmilovic, today left Moscow after a brief working visit to the Russian Federation.

The talks between the Serbian government delegation and the government of the Russian Federation primarily focused on economic cooperation and scopes for its promotion. Also discussed was the possibility for Serbia to export 600,000 tonnes of wheat in a barter arrangement, [as] well as the construction of a gas pipeline through Serbia.

West Europe

TASS Examines Extradition in Hijacking Case

LD3107124590 Moscow TASS in English 1223 GMT 31 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondents Dmitriy Gorokhov and Taras Lariokhin]

[Text] Stockholm July 31 TASS—Anatoliy Mikhailenko, who commandeered an Aeroflot plane to Sweden in late June, will be extradited to the Soviet Union.

The decision was made at an extraordinary governmental meeting today. According to Swedish acting Justice Minister Mona Sahlin, the Swedish side made the decision on the condition that Mikhailenko would be tried for hijacking and not for illegally crossing the border.

The hijacker will be handed over to Soviet authorities within the next two weeks. Before being submitted to the government, the case of the 19-year-old Mikhailenko was considered in detail by Swedish justice authorities. The Supreme Court noted that Sweden is guided by international obligations in the struggle with air terrorism.

Neither Mikhailenko's young age nor any other considerations offset the gravity of the crime he has committed. The court agreed with the procurator general's ruling that the desire to dodge Army service, cited by Mikhailenko as his motive, cannot be regarded as a valid reason for rejecting the extradition request by the Soviet Union.

Mikhailenko was the second hijacker to commandeer a Soviet airlines aircraft to Stockholm, threatening to blow up the plane. 17-year old Dmitriy Semenov, who was the first in a spate of hijackings in June and July, was extradited to the Soviet Union two weeks ago.

The case of a third hijacker, 18-year old Mikhail Mokretsov, is being now considered. However, according to the procurator general, there is nothing in Swedish laws to prevent him from being extradited to the Soviet Union. Mokretsov's case will be tried by the Supreme Court on Wednesday.

Deputy Foreign Minister Meets Turkish Official

PM3107093190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 26 July USSR Deputy Foreign Minister A.M. Belonogov received prominent Turkish public figure K. Baybas, leader of the action group for the creation of a Turkey-USSR Friendship Society, who has come to the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Union of Soviet Friendship Societies.

Questions relating to the development along public channels of cultural ties and contacts between the USSR and Turkey were discussed.

RSFSR Vice President Receives FRG Delegation

LD3007163390 Moscow TASS in English 1949 GMT 30 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow July 30 TASS—First Vice President of the Russian parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov today received a delegation from the Rhineland-Palatinate Landtag, headed by its president Heinz Peter Volkert, and accompanying Moscow patriarchate representatives, led by Metropolitan Pitirim of Volokolamsk and Yuriyev.

They discussed the development of friendly relations between the Russian Federation and the state of Rhineland-Palatinate in various spheres.

Austrian Economic, Trade Accords Signed

LD3007192890 Moscow TASS in English 1744 GMT 30 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Smelov]

[Text] Vienna July 30 TASS—The Soviet Order of People's Friendship was presented here today to President of the Austrian Federal Economic Chamber Rudolf

Sallinger in recognition of his major contribution to the development of trade and economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and Austria.

Sallinger expressed gratitude to the Soviet president for the award and said that deepening relations between Austria and the Soviet Union has always been one of his high priority concerns. "We shall continue expanding cooperation for the benefit of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Austria, he added.

The ceremony was attended by Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Chamber of Industry and Commerce Wladislaw Malkiewicz.

Sallinger and Malkiewizc signed two new agreements today—on cooperation between the Austrian Federal Economic Chamber and the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and on cooperation in the field of training and retraining specialists in foreign economic activity.

PRAVDA Covers Gorbachev-Andreotti Briefing

PM3107101190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jul 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report on news conference held by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti in Moscow on 26 July: "Collaborating Along All Avenues"]

[Text] M.S. Gorbachev: The present visit by Italy's Prime Minister Mr. Andreotti is a confirmation of our meaningful and constant dialogue. In Mr. Andreotti—and I can say this now with even greater satisfaction—we have a wonderful partner who is wise, profound, disposed toward quest, and capable under all circumstances of conducting a dialogue which enriches world politics.

We spoke in great detail about European politics, about Europe where fundamental changes are now occurring. I would say that the emphasis of world politics has now shifted here.

We spoke about the all-European process, about Vienna, about building the all-European home, about changed and changing conditions. This means that we also talked about perestroyka in the USSR, about events in East Europe, and about the entire package of problems associated with Germany's unification.

I am very satisfied with the talks. I have said this previously, and today I would like to affirm my conviction that Soviet-Italian cooperation has a great potential. It maintained its dynamism and meaningful nature even in the most difficult of times. This is helping us now, because our mutual relations are distinguished by an atmosphere of trust and friendliness, making it possible to openly discuss all problems.

It so happened that, at a given moment in time, Mr. Andreotti and I simultaneously had the thought of having a meeting. And we quickly agreed to meet. Numerous very important events occurred beforehand, and we could not fail to discuss them, to sum up our views of where we all stand now. I told Mr. Andreotti—and he agreed with this—that his current working visit is no substitute for his official visit which, as we agreed, will take place at our invitation in the fall. There will also be other meetings. Briefly speaking, it is already obvious that the fall will be rich in events.

Specifically, we examined the most important aspects of bilateral relations. Parallel talks were held between the foreign ministers and other government representatives of the Soviet Union and Italy. A really necessary exchange of opinions took place.

G. Andreotti: I thank Mr. President Gorbachev for the kind words he said about me. I fully subscribe to what he said about the usefulness of the meeting which we were able to hold today. We were able to establish that during the seven and one-half months since Mr. President's visit to Italy, a visit which was tremendously important and was distinguished by exceptionally great meaningfulness, development progressed exactly along the avenue we envisaged at that time.

Specifically, we were able to exchange comments on three recent events—the European Council in Dublin, the NATO Council in London, and the Houston meeting of the seven industrially developed countries. These three meetings focused on discussions of problems associated with the profound transformation of life now under way in the Soviet Union and the East European countries, on how we all could promote the building of a better future through joint efforts.

President Gorbachev painted an analytical picture of the foundations of the basic ideas of economic and political reform in your country. All this will make it possible to conduct a swift in-depth analysis of the elements which the EC will instruct the EC Commissions to study. Following the Delors visit and the contacts which will take place in the next few days, we hope to be able to elaborate conclusions which will be submitted to the 27 October EC meeting. The following factors are exceptionally important for the European balance and its maintenance: The strengthening of cooperation within the EC framework and the updating of NATO on the plane of military strategy in today's world which has changed to such an extent, as well as on the plane of giving more attention to nonmilitary aspects and the plane of greater importance attaching to the new line of cooperation in all-European affairs.

I primarily have in mind the meeting which will take place in Paris at the end of this year. From the viewpoint of its role as an all-European summit meeting, it is a very important fact that President Gorbachev confirmed that the Soviet Union not only does not wish to see a split between Europeans and Americans but actually considers the United States to be an element of stability and that it must participate fully in the European process.

As regards bilateral relations, we—just like the foreign ministers—agreed to give a powerful fillip to the implementation of projects which were planned during President Gorbachev's visit to Italy.

Italian journalist's question to the USSR President: In what form would you prefer to receive assistance to perestroyka from Italy?

M.S. Gorbachev: What do we expect from Italy at this phase of perestroyka? Primarily, we expect the Italian people and their government to maintain their profound understanding, sympathy, and solidarity with the vast work we call perestroyka. We hope that my visit to Italy last year and the present talks will promote the solution of practical problems associated with conversion, the assimilation of new technologies, and especially reconstruction and the buildup of consumer goods production.

Another point: Naturally, we bank primarily on our own potential in the implementation of the profound changes which will affect the entire economy and all enterprises in one way or another, changes which will not be easy and may, in many cases, even take painful forms. The tasks are too important and the country is too vast for us to count only on outside sponsors. This is why we will primarily use new mechanisms and incentives to realize our economy's potential. But we will require certain financial resources for maneuvering—so as to smooth the acuteness of problems and not hold perestroyka back. In order to avoid painful phenomena, we will probably have to extend the implementation of reforms timewise and retain a greater degree of state regulation. But if we are helped in relieving this urgency, the pace of changes will take on the dynamism on which we are now counting. This was discussed, and we sense a positive attitude by Italy's government and businessmen.

TASS correspondent's question: What were the similarities and what were the differences, if any, when problems of Germany's unification were discussed?

M.S. Gorbachev: First of all, Mr. Andreotti and I praised each other. We discussed this problem in detail last November. To a certain extent, we actually forecast the development of events. It must be said that 80-90 percent of these forecasts materialized. This being so, it means that we succeeded in forecasting the development of events, the speed of this development, and thus in switching on the necessary mechanisms for political influence and cooperation at this really crucial stage of changes associated with events in the German states. As you can see, despite all its urgency, this process ran within a certain framework and was interlinked with all avenues of all-European policy and the all-European process. All Europeans are now very actively participating in the examination of the complex problems posed by Germany's unification.

I would say that, by and large, there are no differences between Mr. Andreotti and myself. There was an exchange of opinions on various aspects of the problem, and this only enriched our discussion.

Question by Italian television: How soon can we expect a positive influence on perestroyka by aid from Western countries?

M.S. Gorbachev: I still associate the main positive results with the way our transformations will progress during the adoption of market economy. According to our estimates—and we still have to hold a Supreme Soviet session which will examine the government's revised proposals—the introduction of a powerful market mechanism will require painstaking work over the next two years. We still have a lot to do in the months before January in order to launch this process. Much in this regard will depend on the state of affairs in the market and the functioning of production units manufacturing consumer goods. In these conditions, the financial aid on which we are counting will enable us, on the one hand, to utilize existing capacities and to try and prevent a decline in the manufacture of these goods while, on the other hand, it will make things easier by unleashing economic initiative and creating an environment for enterprise, for organizing cooperation between our enterprises working for the consumer market and Western firms. Therefore, aid at this stage would be really useful in place and in time. Yields from the light and food industries could be forthcoming already in the next few months.

We do need aid at this difficult and crucial stage of the approach to market economy. We need it this year. Obviously, this is not a question of handouts. We must repay everything. Our people will not accept credits on any other condition. Moreover, I think that ours is not a country which could not cope with something like 20-40 billion while others, 10 times smaller countries, cope with 20, 30, and even 40 billion.

A further two points. We agreed that a series of documents and legal acts should be more swiftly implemented and adopted—some within the Supreme Soviet's framework, others as presidential decrees, yet others as government resolutions. We need to more quickly create a legal base for transition to the market. Acts will be adopted on the development of economic autonomy and enterprise, on the investment of foreign capital, on the creation of other more favorable conditions for Western partners. There will be a decree on bank operations to improve the credit and financial system, a decree on a committee to conduct destatization and conversion to joint stock forms, a decree or a government resolution on the mechanism for implementing land reform. Briefly speaking, we want to use all these acts to create incentives for enterprise, economic activity, and initiative primarily on the domestic front, for our own working people, but also for foreigners who will cooperate with us at this time.

Question by correspondent of Japan's NHK-TV: What event had a determining effect on your decision to recognize united Germany's full membership in NATO?

M.S. Gorbachev: I would not single out any specific event. For example, I am certain that, had it not been for the London declaration on changes and transformations within NATO, we would have found it hard to define our position. I must also say that we sensed among our partners—both at conferences within the "two-plus-four" framework, primarily the FRG and the GDR, and among our other partners in Europe—a desire to really pursue a realistic policy by interlinking the problems of Germany's unification with the European process and the Vienna talks.

In this way, it was an entire series of events that influenced our position. You could note that its foundation has been preserved. We said: The situation is such that, whatever happens, a united Germany is destined to ride at two anchors, as it were, for the sake of consolidating the European process, shaping and strengthening the European security structures, and transforming NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Even though this blunt presentation of the question by us might have seemed strange at first. But as steps were being taken in our direction, our position underwent transformations. This led to the emergence of a synthesized position which, it seems to me, accords with the interests of both Europeans and the entire world community.

And a further clarification. History had decreed that united Germany would emerge right now. There will be a final document, the rights and responsibilities of the four powers will be annulled, and united Germany will become a fully sovereign state. It will be this united sovereign Germany, rather than the GDR and the FRG, that will decide which alliance it will join. We have taken note of Mr. Kohl's statement that he, as FRG chancellor, advocates united Germany's membership of NATO, but this will be decided by united Germany's government.

Question: You and Mr. Andreotti discussed Europe's future architecture. On what did you specifically agree?

M.S. Gorbachev: Specifically, we said that Italy and the Soviet Union, having a unique experience in cooperation and being committed to the cause of building a new Europe, will continue to collaborate along all avenues to ensure that European politics acquires certain features. We spoke about economic, legal, and ecological space. We spoke about the emergence of a new security system, about the transformation of military-political alliances. We spoke about the fact that powerful integrative processes are already under way and they must be encouraged and, furthermore, they must extend to the entire continent. We also said that, as Europeans, we welcome the constructive cooperation and contribution to the building of new Europe made by the United States and Canada.

G. Andreotti: For my part, I would like to add that if we all believe that the success of perestroyka is in the interest not only of the Soviet Union but also of the whole of Europe and of the entire world's development, then we must make all possible efforts to eliminate the obstacles—which may be strictly psychological for some people—and make our contribution to the success of this cause. I would like to say that we have already gone such a long way as regards the most serious of questions that I would not be overoptimistic in saying that other questions are also soluble.

Latin America & Caribbean

Cuban Leader Denounces Spain's Aid to Refugees

*PM3107105390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
28 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 4*

[Unattributed report: "Fidel Castro Speech"]

[Text] AFP sent a report from Havana on Fidel Castro's speech at a grand ceremony dedicated to the 37th anniversary of the storming of the Moncada Barracks. We quote the AFP telegram below, supplemented by several quotations from REUTER.

Cuban President Fidel Castro, speaking in Havana Thursday, accused Spain of "aiding and abetting American imperialism" and declared the possibility of a break in diplomatic relations with Madrid.

Touching on the crisis which arose in connection with Cuban refugees seeking shelter in foreign diplomatic missions, Castro said: "Not one of those who got into the embassies by force will receive permission to leave the country." At present there are 18 Cubans at the Spanish Embassy in Havana and another four at the Italian ambassador's residence.

F. Castro announced that Cuba is declining Spanish aid worth $2.5 million intended for developing education on the island. Last week Madrid decided to suspend the aid. The reason was comments by the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Relations, which Spain regarded as an insult directed at its Minister of Foreign Affairs F. Ordonez. "Don't suspend your aid, cancel it altogether," the Cuban president said. "...There is no force on earth capable of bringing Cuba to its knees."

"How is it that the Spanish Government proved capable of committing an act of economic aggression (against us)?" Castro poses the question, recalling that "hundreds of Cubans gave their lives for Spain fighting against fascism."

"The descendants of those who once shouted 'no pasaran' [they shall not pass] in Madrid have today become accomplices of the United States, which is hostile and aggressively disposed toward Cuba and tries to isolate us," the Cuban leader stated. In his words, "the arrogance and presumption of the Spanish authorities is reminiscent of the era of Spain's colonial dominion over the island."

At the same time, F. Castro assured his audience: "No matter how events develop in the future, whether or not diplomatic relations with Spain are maintained, we will treat Spaniards who have interests in Cuba with respect." By this he meant, by all accounts, entrepreneurs who have invested in the Cuban tourist business.

Returning to the problem of the refugees being sheltered in embassies, F. Castro said that this was "a plot hatched by the United States—its latest maneuver aimed at organizing a hostile campaign against Cuba." Here the speaker referred to "villainous cooperation" between the Americans and Czechoslovak diplomats.

Speaking about the Cubans wishing to leave the island, the president suggested to the "Spanish and other European governments," which he ironically called "fighters for human rights," that they agree to set up "emigration services—one, two, three—in a word, as many as they like," promising that "exit to Europe will be unimpeded."

"As for the Americans, if they wish to accept our emigrants, then let them send ships and visas," F. Castro stated.

Soviet, Cuban Armed Forces Officials Meet

PM3007152190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Jul 90 First Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Meeting at the General Staff"]

[Text] Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister, received Rear Admiral P. Betancourt, deputy minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces and commander of Cuba's Revolutionary Navy, who is on an official visit to the Soviet Union, on 26 July. They discussed questions of mutual interest.

Admiral of the Fleet V.N. Chernavin, commander in chief of the Navy and USSR deputy defense minister, took part in the conversation.

Soviet-Cuban Friendship Society Meets in Moscow

Anniversary Soiree Held

PM3107092790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 24 July a soiree for representatives of the Moscow primary organizations of the Soviet-Cuban Friendship Society was held in Moscow to mark the Cuban day of national uprising—the 37th anniversary of the storming of the Moncada Barracks.

A delegation from the association of Cuban-Soviet friendship headed by its vice president, R. Castro, and J.R. Balaguer, Cuban ambassador to the USSR, took part in the soiree.

Photofeature Recalls Uprising

PM3007132590

[Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 July 1990 Second Edition carries on page seven under the headline "Centennial Generation" an unattributed photofeature comprising three photographs and the following text:

"Precisely 37 years ago, 26 July 1953, a group of young Cuban patriots stormed the Moncada Barracks in Santiago de Cuba but failed to take the garrison unawares. The majority of the captured revolutionaries were shot on the orders of the dictator Batista. A group of fighters under the command of Fidel Castro managed to escape into the mountains....

"On that day the Cuban revolution entered the phase of armed struggle, ending in victory almost six years later. Cubans sometimes call the storming of Moncada the 'dawn of the revolution,' which is now continuing into its fourth decade. The Moncada Barracks were attacked by members of the underground revolutionary organization called the Centennial Generation Movement because it was created in memory of Jose Marti, the centennial of whose birth fell in 1953.

"The ideas of Marti and his successors and the ideas of the Cuban revolution live on today. Like any festival, the anniversary of the storming of Moncada is marked in Cuba with labor reports and demonstrations by thousands. Their participants confirm their loyalty to the ideals for which the heroes of the Centennial Generation Movement gave their lives...."

The photographs, taken from the magazine CUBA, show the Moncada Barracks after the attempted storming, the bodies of some of the patriots executed afterward, and a present-day demonstration in Havana featuring a banner proclaiming "Socialism or Death."

Political and Social

Marxist, Democratic Platforms Issue Statement

LD2707135190 Moscow TASS in English 1331 GMT 27 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow July 27 TASS—The Coordination Council of the Marxist Platform in the Soviet Communist Party and the organising bureau of the group of communist reformers in the Democratic Platform in the Soviet Communist Party have issued a joint address to communists of the country.

The document, published by MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA newspaper today, emphasises that the party has sufficient potential to determine ways in which to overcome the crisis and decisively renew and democratise the country.

The authors of the document, critically assessing the results of the 28th party congress, believe it is their task to rework the programme for overcoming the country's crisis, determine prospects for the development of Soviet society and set out and implement measures for the further democratisation of the party and society.

They support the full implementation of the positive potential contained in the decisions and documents of the congress. They also oppose anti-communist processes in society and conservative attitudes in the Soviet Communist Party, as well as those who talk of liquidating the party.

The document emphasises that the Marxist Platform and the group of communist reformers must establish and consolidate ties with the workers' movement, the farmers' union, youth organisations and groups of communist deputies in councils at every level. They must increase their influence in mass democratic organisations of the working people and promote the consolidation of democratic forces of socialist orientation.

The address also emphasises the need to start preparations for future election campaigns.

"One should not preclude the possibility of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies or some republican councils being disbanded," the document says. "The forthcoming elections on a multi-party basis will not be easy for communists. It is necessary to win over and consolidate positions in territorial party organisations, the role of which will considerably increase, as well as in voters' clubs and associations", the document notes.

Arbatov Discusses Political, Economic Reforms

LD2907192490 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 29 Jul 90

[Report with recorded excerpt of roundtable discussion with Georgiy Arbatov, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy and director of the United States of America and Canada Institute, in Prague on 29 July—unidentified moderator and Arbatov speaking in Russian with superimposed Czech translation]

[Text] At the initiative of the Institute for International Relations, a round table discussion took place in Prague today with Georgiy Arbatov, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy and director of the United States of America and Canada Institute.

At the center of Soviet attention is, above all, equilibrium in Europe. The issue is that the future NATO and Warsaw pact should not be enemy military blocks but groups aiming toward stability in Europe. If Soviet security conditions are fulfilled, Soviet worries about their security and political and economic membership of the future unified Germany in NATO will be avoided, said Academician Arbatov.

Arbatov positively assessed a recent agreement between Boris Yeltsin and the heads of three Baltic Republics concerning the start of talks which will lead to agreements on mutual relations in all of the most important spheres of life, and he said that without the existence of sovereign states and mutual dialogue, it is not possible to build a strong and united federation. He emphasized that it is nonsensical to consider Boris Yeltsin as a possible alternative to Mikhail Gorbachev, whose present position is considerably weakened as a result of economic difficulties. It is not a question of one or the other because the present political scene of the Soviet Union necessarily needs both of them.

[Begin recording] [Moderator] Does the Soviet Union have some kind of way out of the present political and economic crisis?

[Arbatov] Despite the fact that there is still a number of nationality problems, in my view the first stage of political reform took place relatively successfully. The situation in the economic sphere, however, is much worse. The present crisis was not a result of any objective causes. We are in this position as a result of very bad management of our economy, its slowness, indecisiveness, and inability to give the plan of economic reform a clear goal. Even though the government of Nikolay Ryzhkov has the complete confidence of Mikhail Gorbachev, there is a chronic shortage of goods which is socially dangerous. For this reason, Ryzhkov will have to considerably speed up the transition to the regulated market and open up the country even more to foreign capital and investment.

[Moderator] Apart from economic problems, nationalism, and separatism, is the attitude of the conservative wing of the Soviet Army also dangerous for restructuring in the Soviet Union?

[Arbatov] Yes, it is our primary task to make the Army more professional. There are various elements within it which firmly hold on to conservative positions and are of the opinion that they are the only guarantee of state security. In my view only the president and the people in parliament can be this guarantee. The Army should only carry out decisions. At the present time, all is not harmonious in their mutual relations and what is more, conflicts deepen such objective difficulties as, for example, the demobilization of some high officers, the need for new specialization, and housing problems. On the other hand, it must be said that from the international viewpoint, the security of the state does not only depend on the Army. The country needs the correct political and economic orientation to be rid of indifference towards the surrounding environment and to avoid narrow local interests. [end recording]

Shatalin on Implementing Decree To Seize Weapons

PM3007151590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Jul 90 First Edition p 1

[TASS report under the rubric "Presidential Decree—Execute It!": "The Main Thing Is To Prevent Casualties"]

[Text] The USSR President's decree "On Banning the Creation of Armed Formations for Which USSR Legislation Makes No Provision, and Confiscating Illegal Stores of Weapons" gives the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] crucial tasks. Colonel General Yu. Shatalin, commander of the Internal Troops, described them at TASS correspondent V. Gondusov's request.

[Shatalin] The president's decree must primarily be carried out by those state organs that bear responsibility for its execution. Corresponding accountability must begin after envisaged 15-day period.

Why is this at issue? A USSR Supreme Soviet resolution was adopted on 5 March this year "On the Situation in the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's [Soviet Socialist Republics] and Measures To Normalize the Situation in this Region." It gave instructions for militant groups to be completely disarmed, weapons found among the population to be confiscated, and extremist organizations and associations responsible for terrorist actions, pogroms, and mass disturbances to be disbanded. Unfortunately, vexingly little has been done to implement this resolution. I would not like this to recur.

For instance, the troop command was informed in April of the structure of armed formations in the Armenian SSR. We realized that these formations represent a real force to be reckoned with. We have raised the question on several occasions at various levels on the need for most decisive steps to be taken to disarm and disband these formations. Unfortunately, our concern did not meet with understanding. So, the decree was somewhat late.

It is also important to call to account those leaders of informal associations and groups that have come under the thumb of the leaders of illegal armed formations. And not only in Armenia. We have information regarding the presence of illegal caches of weapons in other republics too. This danger must not be underestimated. After all, weapons are certainly not being stashed away as a hobby. It is important to stop the orgy of lawlessness once and for all and do everything to ensure that there is no more bloodshed in any region of the country.

We are relying on energetic assistance from people's deputies in the USSR and union republics, representatives of public organizations, elders, the clergy, and the intelligentsia. They must be more insistent in their appeals for the peaceful resolution of the accumulated problems, and for reason responsibility on the part of those holding illegally seized weapons.

The execution of the decree is not a chance for the internal troops to rush headlong into action. The people would simply not understand us; particularly soldiers' mothers, who are concerned for their sons' future. That is why we are prepared to do everything to avoid bloodshed, confrontation, and overt clashes, that is why we are relying on common sense and a sober assessment of the situation, primarily from the leaders of the armed formations.

The preventive work that will be carried out by the local authorities and law-enforcement organs to ascertain where armed formations are located, to flush out their members, and to detect possible hiding places and places where weapons are produced and stored is of no small importance. The plan is to provide these formations with extensive information about the decree's demands and send their leaders concrete demands that they be disbanded and their weapons surrendered within the 15-day period.

In the event that they refuse to voluntarily surrender their weapons—and this is possible—the internal troops have sufficient forces and weapons to carry out resolute vigorous actions to disarm the illegal formations, as envisaged by the decree, in conjunction with Soviet Army subunits. Psychologically and physically trained personnel properly equipped with the requisite combat gear and weapons will be utilized for this. But I repeat that ours is not the way of confrontation and clashes. Members of the armed formations should be well aware of that. The responsibility for bloodshed will rest wholly and completely with them.

PRAVDA Cites Bakatin on Militia Decree

PM3107082990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jul 90 Second Edition pp 1,2

[G. Ovcharenko report: "President Defends Constitution"]

[Text] At yesterday's press conference at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center the country's internal affairs minister, V. Bakatin, described the presidential decree "On Banning the Creation of Armed Formations for Which USSR Legislation Makes No Provision, and Confiscating Illegal Stores of Weapons."

Vadim Viktorovich immediately told Soviet and foreign correspondents that he had no intention of commenting on the decree—he is not entitled to do that. As a minister he simply has to execute it strictly and punctiliously. Moreover, the decree has been set out quite precisely and clearly.

B. Bakatin said firmly that the president's decree will be implemented in conjunction—precisely in conjunction—with republic organs of power.

The minister informed journalists that, according to up-to-the-minute data, organized formations in the Baltic, Moldavia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan are illegally possessing weapons. Admittedly, these formations deny that they are armed.

The situation is different in Armenia, V. Bakatin said, where the position currently held by the republic's leadership, including its party leadership, is in contravention of the Constitution and common sense and aims to illegally set up in practice legal armed formations. This year criminals in Armenia have seized 6,700 weapons, including 1,200 submachine guns.

To date 11,686 stolen weapons are undergoing investigation throughout the country as a whole.

In 1985 4,688 crimes were committed in the USSR using firearms. In 1989 this figure rose to 5,400. In the first half of this year there have already been 3,432 crimes of this kind.

During this half-year 921 criminal groups—almost double the number for the same period last year—have been disarmed.

The minister then answered journalists' questions, including those put by your correspondent.

[Question] The decree has been in force for two days now. Are there any results?

[Bakatin] I do not have any information about weapons being surrendered or confiscated. Too little time has elapsed. (I learned from USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] personnel that not a single weapon was surrendered in a 12-hour period yesterday. However, in Armenia, following the publication of the decree, as our own correspondent said over the telephone that an attack was carried out in an attempt to seize weapons—G.O.).

[Question] Many journalists believe that the 15-day period is too short for this major decree to be implemented. What is your opinion on that?

[Bakatin] As a private individual I might agree with journalists' opinion, but as a minister I am simply obliged to implement the demands of the decree within the designated period.

[Question] What possible difficulties do you see with the implementation of the decree and what assistance does the ministry need?

[Bakatin] The main difficulty is finding businesslike contacts for cooperation with the local authorities. The decree will only be fulfilled if they take an active position. We expect help from the press—it can also do a great deal to ensure the decree's most speedy execution.

[Question] Be honest, has the president added to your worries?

[Bakatin] On the contrary. The president has helped us. After all, according to the Constitution, we had to take and did take action in the past to stop illegal armed formations being set up and to confiscate unregistered weapons. But we did this without clear coordination with the local organs of power. Now, following the decree, the execution of its demands is a common concern. I am sure that clearly coordinated joint actions will enable this task to be resolved.

[Question] How far can you rely on local law-enforcement organs in executing the decree?

[Bakatin] Unfortunately, a large proportion of the militia at local level are infected, I won't mince my words, with primeval nationalism. That is why the emphasis is placed on Internal Troops and, where necessary—and this was mentioned in the decree—on USSR Defense Ministry subunits when resolving interethnic conflicts.

[Question] Won't the cure prove worse than the ailment?

[Bakatin] It is hard now to predict how the decree will be implemented. Our principle is to ensure that there are as few casualties as possible, and we will adhere to it strictly. But this by no means signifies that we will act indecisively. [Bakatin ends]

The minister answered all questions precisely, and clearly, without covering anything up—and we thank him for that.

Official Discusses New Psychiatric Aid Bill

LD3007202190 Moscow TASS in English 1914 GMT 30 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow July 30 TASS—"The aim of the new bill on psychiatric aid is to guarantee that the state, society and medicine take the comprehensive responsibility for the fates of people suffering from psychic disorders, that their civil rights and dignity are fully respected and the provision of maximum social benefits to such people is ensured," head of the national centre for the protection of psychic health Marat Vartanian told TASS

The bill has been published for nation-wide discussion. Then it will be submitted to the country's Supreme Soviet (parliament).

This is the first time the Soviet Union plans to promulgate a law of this kind. Principles of charity, humanism and social justice which form the basis of the bill will define further development of Soviet psychiatry and counteract all attempts at abusing psychiatry, Vartanian stressed.

The bill was drawn up by a commission including numerous clinical psychiatrists, lawyers, scientists and health service officials.

The bill is intended to change the situation of mental patients in society, Vartanian said. It stresses that they enjoy all the rights of citizens laid down in the Soviet constitution and the constitutions of Union and autonomous republics.

The bill envisages voluntary hospitalization of patients and their release from the clinic. It stresses the patient's right to receive information about the nature of his or her disease, to discuss the character of treatment with experts and to choose the physician.

The bill formulates rules for compulsory hospitalization and treatment, the final decision on which is made by the court. The participation of a lawyer is envisaged in all disputed cases. Criminal liability of specialists is envisaged for confining to mental hospitals people who do not need psychiatric aid.

Vartanian praised the bill for defining the mental patient's social status and rights to housing, work and pension. Local councils are entrusted with assisting mental patients in this.

The bill also stipulates measures to protect the rights of psychiatrists and to protect society from actions by mental patients.

Gorbachev Leaves for 'Rest' in Crimea

LD3007161990 Moscow TASS in English 1555 GMT 30 Jul 90

["Urgent—President Gorbachev Goes to Crimea for Vacation"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow July 30 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev today left for rest in the Crimea.

Gorbachev Receives Ambassadors' Credentials

LD2707220990 Moscow TASS in English 1751 GMT 27 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow July 27 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev received credentials in the Kremlin today from Ambassadors Mohammad Daud Razmyar of Afghanistan, Gabriel Emouengue of the Congo, Sumio Edamura of Japan and Joseph Francis Conceicao of Singapore.

Gorbachev had a meeting with the new ambassadors after the ceremony.

The ceremony was attended by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

Gorbachev Responds to Election Congratulations

LD3007173790 Moscow TASS in English 1717 GMT 30 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow July 30 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev expressed his gratitude to all those congratulating him on his election as the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee's general secretary at the 28th party congress.

Congratulations to him had come from party, trade union, youth, veteran and other mass organisations, worker collectives and many Soviet people writing to him on their own behalf. He had also been congratulated by the leaders of political parties and organisations as well as individuals abroad.

In a press release issued today, Gorbachev said he was grateful and really moved by their good wishes and feelings for him.

"I am especially gratified that letters and telegrams addressed to me showed a profound interest in perestroyka's success and the understanding of how important it is for both our country and the world," he said.

"I shall apply every effort, using the rights and possibilities that go with my state and party posts, to make sure that current difficulties will be overcome and decisive headway made along the path of far-reaching political and economic reform and renewal in every aspect of society's life," Gorbachev said.

Former KGB Chief Kalugin Responds to Charges

Sues Leaders for Lost Pension

PM3107112790 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 31 Jul 90 p 1

[Report by A. Tsatsuyev: "Suit Against the President"]

[Text] Former KGB Major General O. Kalugin filed a suit against USSR President Gorbachev; N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and V.A. Kryuchkov, chairman of the USSR KGB yesterday in the Moscow City Court.

Kalugin believes that the recent government organs' decree and resolution stripping him of his military rank of major general and his USSR orders and medals, as well as his pension, are unlawful. To support his position, the former major general is citing relevant articles in the USSR Constitution and the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Criminal Code.

At the same time, USSR People's Deputy S. Belozertsev has sent a letter in similar vein to the Constitutional Oversight Committee.

Discusses Removal of Rank

90UF0349C Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 27, 7-13 Jul 90 p 7

[Interview with O. Kalugin by unidentified ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent; place and date not specified: "O. Kalugin: 'My Conscience Is Clear'"]

[Text] [ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] By a decree of the Council of Ministers you have been stripped of your military rank of reserve major general. The readers are interested to know: What rank did you keep?

[Kalugin] Frankly, I do not know because I have not yet discussed this issue with the KGB. General P. Grigorenko, who was in the same situation I am facing now, was demoted to soldier.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] What is going to happen to your retirement benefits?

[Kalugin] I think that I will receive some minimum, say, the soldier's benefits, which until recently amounted to R12.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] You have been stripped of your state and departmental decorations by an ukase of the USSR president, as well as by an order of the USSR KGB chairman. What decorations were those and what were you given them for?

[Kalugin] I received the first of the three "Badge of Honor" orders in 1964 for, let us put it this way, active work in acquiring sources of information abroad. The Order of the Red Star (1967) and the Order of the Red Banner (1977) were given to me, in conventional terms, for operations aimed at ensuring national security. I believe we will not discuss the medals in detail. I will only mention my decoration with the KGB departmental medal "For Impeccable Service" of all three grades. There were also valuable gifts from the chairman of the KGB, such as a hunting gun with a nameplate, radio equipment, and so on.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] If this is not a secret, how are you going to support yourself now?

[Kalugin] Since my dismissal from the KGB, I have been working as a consultant for the Association for Data Technologies Development. However, it appears that the management of the association is very scared, and I will have to leave.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] Apart from General Grigorenko whom you mentioned, has anyone been punished the same way you have in the last 15 to 20 years?

[Kalugin] Yes, for example, Academician A. Sakharov—not that I am to be compared with him. However, as far as procedures are concerned, he was deprived of the title Hero of Socialist Labor three times and other decorations just as I was, without trial or investigation, by an arbitrary decision of the top leadership. To be sure, the Academy of Sciences did not permit him to be stripped of the rank of "general."

Or else, let us look at Shchelokov. He was also stripped of everything, but by a decision of the court, and he was convicted of specific deeds. In my case there is no element of crime. While unmasking the mafia "secrecy" of the department, I remain clean in the eyes of both the law and our society. I believe that the hasty action undertaken against me is preventive in nature: to gag all those who would like to follow in my footsteps.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] The readers are concerned about your safety.

[Kalugin] The KGB is capable of anything. However, in my situation it is better for them to keep me in order to avoid further complications for themselves.

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] To your mind, what are going to be the consequences of the sanctions against you?

[Kalugin] They are already apparent: Public opinion has been stirred and, incidentally, it is in my favor. Frankly, I did not expect such support on the part of society. The people have long had a feeling that, apart from the party apparatus, something else interferes and prevents our society from moving forward. I feel the support of even KGB employees who, despite possible reprisals, are getting ready to make similar statements.

Discusses KGB Activities

90UF0367A Moscow SOBESEDNIK in Russian No 29, Jul 90 pp 4-5

[Interviews with former KGB Reserve Major General O.D. Kalugin by SOBESEDNIK special correspondent M. Sokolov; place and date not specified; first five paragraphs are SOBESEDNIK introduction: "KGB: The Myth and Fear of the 20th Century"]

[Text] **On 30 June, O.D. Kalugin was stripped of his state decorations by an ukase of the USSR president at the request of the USSR KGB, was stripped of his rank of reserve major general by a decree of the USSR Council of Ministers, and of the badge "Honored State Security Functionary" by an order of the KGB chairman.**

Are new comments necessary? As it were, all of this has happened before.

We have already had a major general who was demoted to a private: rights defender Petr Grigorenko.

We have already had a person stripped of all state decorations: Academician Andrey Sakharov. (Even when he died he was not given back the stars [of the Hero of Socialist Labor] which he earned in the "defense sector"!) It has usually been the party that was wrong and resorted to reprisals as an argument in the dispute. This is how the people who have undivided power in our Motherland have established it. By a single stroke of a pen they elevated to

the status of hero, and with equal resolve brought down, anybody who dared to doubt the virtues of "the most just system on earth." All of this has happened.... What is new is the time and the signature: The time is that of perestroyka, and the signature under the ukase dictated from Lubyanka is that of the president. It looks as though our leaders still fail to understand that all that reprisals by authorities losing popularity accomplish at present is to light up new stars in the political sky of our country. It is possible that tomorrow "the Oleg Kalugin affair" will develop into "the phenomenon of Telman Gdlyan."

Reserve Major General Oleg Kalugin, in the past the Soviet chief of station in Washington, chief of the First Main Administration after 1974, and subsequently first deputy chief of the Leningrad Oblast KGB Administration, has criticized the almighty organization in his statements and interviews, demanding that it be deprived of the functions of secret police. In response, the press service of the KGB has released a statement which is full of inarticulate hints and threats toward the retired intelligence officer....

[Sokolov] Oleg Danilovich, how could it happen that after 32 years of service in high positions in the KGB you became convinced that this service is now a certain danger to perestroyka?

[Kalugin] I came to the organs after the 20th Congress believing in the advent of communism. Later I worked for many years in the United States, where I saw the shortcomings and advantages of a system in which there is no room for political violence to human will, at least in comparison with our country.

[Sokolov] Did this not interfere with your uncovering of "ideological sabotage?"

[Kalugin] I did not uncover the American way of life but rather specific CIA operations. Why were we not to uncover them if their intelligence service was no more ethical than ours?... I drew my first conclusions in 1968 when I carried out the responsibilities of chief of station in Washington. One day before the invasion of Czechoslovakia I received a telegram from the USSR KGB: Warn the ambassador that tomorrow the operation of rendering "fraternal assistance" to the Czechoslovak people will begin. I was shaken.

[Sokolov] But you did not protest, did you?!

[Kalugin] I was a servicemen. However, I wrote up a telegram in response on the basis of documentary information coming from the CIA and the Pentagon: According to the information available, the CIA was not privy to the events in Czechoslovakia, and the Americans were caught unprepared by the rapid progress of reforms in Czechoslovakia. Meanwhile, a propaganda pandemonium was getting underway in our country: NATO was preparing to send in its troops, masquerading military men were infiltrating, and arms caches had been found (all of this was falsified: They hid the weapons themselves, and later "found" them).

Later, there was Moscow in the 1970's. The extent of corruption was growing, especially among those who worked abroad. They took, they bought, they bribed... My responsibilities included the protection of Soviet citizens, diplomats, and employees of the offices of commercial attaches, from eventual unpleasantness. The reality of outrages committed by our officials—ambassadors and secretaries—came to me in a stream.

[Sokolov] Was everybody on the take?

[Kalugin] Not all of them, but many. Not all of them took money, but they were not squeamish about "bribes in kind" and gifts. They soon explained to me: "Why are you fighting them; after all, they take it in order to send it to Moscow, to the Central Committee, to the leadership...."

[Sokolov] Were their contacts of this nature reaching all the way to the capital?

[Kalugin] Of course, and we traced them.

[Sokolov] To the ministries or higher?

[Kalugin] Higher, of course. Ministerial officials are just small fry... We collated this information and sent it to the Central Committee. At Old Square glaring outrages were swept "under the rug." For example, an embassy was under construction, and a foreign company was to be paid 2 million; actually, it received 1,950,000. The ambassador pocketed 50,000, having his assistant process a phony check. They did not even listen to us in the Central Committee apparatus.... I may name many such ambassadors and commercial attaches.

[Sokolov] Did you succeed in pressing criminal charges against anybody at all on the basis of your information?

[Kalugin] Being recalled from a post abroad or sent to "well-deserved retirement" was the harshest penalty. The KGB and the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] have instructions to the effect that all material on abuses by nomenklatura functionaries should not be kept on file but destroyed regardless of content. Therefore, historians of the future will hardly find much material on corruption in the archives of the organs. If one really searches for them, he should do so at Old Square itself, where all information went....

The CPSU Central Committee did not respond to all the decay in our society. Moreover, Abrasimov, chief of the Central Committee Department for Foreign Travel, foamed at the mouth many times over the KGB compromising proven party cadres. Had it not been for the weighty material which our service had available I would have had to part with my party membership card. Actually, I had to go to Leningrad....

[Sokolov] They were really fed up with you....

[Kalugin] The fact that I interceded on behalf of a certain person arrested by the KGB became the pretext. This man lived in the United States for many years, and he also did a lot for us in the USSR. After his arrival our people tried several times to "get" him for espionage, this time for the CIA. They did not succeed in this, despite a number of crude provocations. Then they dangled an antiques dealer in front of him and fabricated a speculation case. He was sentenced to seven years.

[Sokolov] I do not understand why a case had to be "pinned" on him.

[Kalugin] You have to know the practices of the KGB at the time. If someone were suspected of espionage, everything was done in order to assert this position. If this did not work out, criminal charges could be trumped up: drugs, the possession of weapons, speculation... This is how dissidents and unregistered Baptists were handled.

I wrote to Andropov; he received me, and even in a way encouraged me to fight for the release of this man. They promised me that the case would be dropped, and later ordered me to depart for Leningrad, demanding that I keep my nose out of the situation from then on.

[Sokolov] May we say that the Leningrad militia which you oversaw between 1983 and 1987 upheld the law?

[Kalugin] There were traitors within its ranks; the mafia found its way to the middle echelon of leadership. I remember one criminal case: A group of criminals tipped off by the militia organized raids on the apartments of the affluent with the participation of a KGB employee; they also committed murders. All of them were sentenced, but to relatively short periods of time.

In 1986 we had a case of bribery in the procuracy, the militia, and the Leningrad Oblast Soviet. Businessmen from the Ukraine and Moldavia came to Leningrad and arranged to obtain timber, giving bribes without scruples. The procurator of Gatchinskiy Rayon was involved in the case (he was sentenced to 10 years).

About 50 businessmen were involved in the case who, according to the materials of the investigation, had connections with the leadership of the oblast executive committee and a secretary of the CPSU Oblast Committee... As soon as it came to verifying the testimony against them, a categorical order came from the oblast party committee to stop the investigation.

[Sokolov] Who gave the order?

[Kalugin] The command was given from above through Chief of the Administrative Department Voshchinin (now chief of the Leningrad militia). I protested, and turned to my superior: How could it be—they wanted to make the secretary of a rayon party committee department chief in the oblast committee of the CPSU, while we had testimony against him regarding bribes. The answer was: "None of your business. Let the procuracy raise the issue with Yu. Solovyev." Oblast Procurator Porukov, also a former functionary of the administrative department of the CPSU Central Committee, gave me the runaround. Then I wrote to the Party Control Committee. The letter was referred back to the oblast committee. I wrote to the Central Committee. It seemed to me that since we had crowed about perestroyka we could finally fight abuses. A Central Committee commission arrived and two weeks later, upholding departmental honor, resolved that "in the main the facts were not confirmed." They simply refused to listen to those employees who backed me up; some of them were hastily retired. I was recalled to Moscow. KGB Chairman V. Chebrikov warned me: "If you write again I will fire you." After meeting with him, I once again contacted the CPSU Central Committee, this time naming all names and giving new facts. Two months later, they had the chief of the Leningrad Administration retire and had me sent for security work in the USSR Academy of Sciences. Then I wrote a memorandum to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. This was where I set forth my position: The KGB remains what it was 15 or 20 years ago; if it is not reformed as soon as possible, it may block perestroyka together with party reactionaries. As far as I know, the letter was evaluated positively by the general secretary and made the KGB chairman furious. After two hours of talking, I became convinced that Viktor Mikhaylovich and I would not get along on anything, and warned him that I was going to defend myself against slander: I do not know on whose orders they began to fabricate an espionage case against me: Supposedly, I wanted to contact the CIA....

Two months later, I was reassigned to the Ministry of the Electronics Industry as administration chief. Soon after I turned 55 they called me to the personnel department.... Since then I have been in retirement and in opposition....

[Sokolov] You held major posts in intelligence precisely under Yu. Andropov. What did his appointment do for the KGB?

[Kalugin] A systematic reinforcement of the KGB began, as well as the restoration of its erstwhile strength and a continuous increase of its personnel strength. The Brezhnev-type state could not exist in the absence of the bloated political-police apparatus recreated by Andropov which defended the top echelon of the party. The KGB penetrated all spheres of our society, solving military, political, and economic problems by its own methods. To be sure, Yu. Andropov carried on Khrushchev's policy of making KGB activities appear lawful, giving up the methods of political terror and physical extermination of the opponents of the regime.

However, the KGB was reinforced as an apparatus for moral terror and political surveillance. It succeeded in establishing total control over all actions bringing about the creation of genuine opposition to the existing regime. Andropov did this work in a quite persistent manner and with talent.

At present, some people are making statements about him as almost being a democrat deep down. Nonsense.

Despite being likable as a person, he was an old party functionary who carried on the cause of his predecessors by more refined methods.

[Sokolov] Tell us please whether the KGB has been affected by corruption, which appears to have spread to all institutions of our society.

[Kalugin] Bribery was rare in our sphere. For example, intelligence officers abroad sold multiple-entry visas to the Soviet Union. They were sent to their own republics even without dismissals from the organs....

However, KGB personnel sold state secrets, and this is indicative of a different kind of corruption. In the last 12 years, under Kryuchkov as chief of intelligence, more traitors have defected, or committed treason and been found out, than in all the years of Soviet power....

[Sokolov] This does not indicate that Kryuchkov is bad, but rather that the system is rotten....

[Kalugin] Like priest, like flock... However, it is much more important that people with the cleanest personal backgrounds from the point of view of the system have committed treason. Meanwhile, political vigilance has been very high! One professional has been dismissed from intelligence for forgetting to go and vote in elections to the Supreme Soviet. Even this elite corps has wavered!

Our intelligence service was exceptionally strong after the war, when on the crest of our victory over Hitler, people came to us who wanted to denounce the schemes of forces trying to destroy the antifascist coalition. At the time, the CIA did not hold a candle to our intelligence. Now, everything is the other way around. The people go to them. They say that it is for the sake of convictions rather than money: Gordiyevskiy, our former chief of station in England, and Levchenko, our functionary in Tokyo.

[Sokolov] Do you believe in the possibility of treason on the basis of convictions?

[Kalugin] I allow for it. In Moscow, there was a minimum of one case in which a KGB officer cooperated with dissidents and gave them information on actions against them prepared by the KGB. He was apprehended, arrested; I do not know, however, whether he was shot or not. This happened in 1979.

[Sokolov] I would have a monument to him built in front of Lubyanka....

[Kalugin] Opinions on this may differ... .At any rate, all of these are indications of the perception of the crisis of our political system by KGB personnel rather than just the lack of control and permissiveness common in all intelligence services.

[Sokolov] Do you believe that the KGB apparatus has been demoralized to a certain extent by now?

[Kalugin] Many people, including those who I brought into intelligence myself in the years of stagnation, went through a dramatic turning point when they understood that the KGB was not in line with their initial romantic concept of the "Chekists." Perestroyka has come, and ideological functions and political surveillance have become unnecessary. Life calls for a reform of the system, but it has not come about. Old structures by and large get renamed. People who do not understand their mission suffer from idleness. It is felt that political stratification has begun.

[Sokolov] Are current KGB functionaries afraid of the possibility of the same outcome as in the GDR—the prospect of finding themselves out in the cold as outcasts who are despised by all?

[Kalugin] For the first time in the history of the KGB, young people have begun to leave the organs at their own request under different pretexts. The reason is a reevaluation of values and, perhaps, the desire not to stay on a sinking ship.

[Sokolov] They say that there is an informant in any sufficiently large collective.

[Kalugin] Yes, and more than one. In the GDR a statistic was published—6 million East Germans were privy to some degree to the activities of the GDR Ministry of State Security. This is one-third of the populace....

[Sokolov] Is the number on the same order in our country?

[Kalugin] It is lower in our country. For example, the approach in the West is different: The FBI debriefs citizens, counting on their cooperation by way of performing their civic duty. However, in a democracy you have the option of showing them the door. Well, in our country cooperation is built on the genetically programmed fear of the organs. Many of those who have been recruited are people who have slipped up in some way; stool pigeons by conviction are a minority. It is hard to refer to voluntary participation where a network of thousands upon thousands of semiprofessionals has been created who have signed pledges, and who receive money for reporting at the very least on holidays, if not regularly.

[Sokolov] Do they get a lot?

[Kalugin] No, not a whole lot. The fact that all who give information at least once become dependent is the most frightening difference in principle between our system and that in the West.

Of course, you cannot do without agents in intelligence work, in infiltrating the mafia, in specific operations. However, a relationship with agents should be built on a legal foundation. Our general denunciation proves that the authorities live in a hostile environment of people and are forced to detect their sentiments.

[Sokolov] Information has appeared in the press to the effect that the KGB has selected "leading cadres" for all religious denominations, and its agents have infiltrated all churches.

[Kalugin] A special department overseeing all religious cults existed and exists....

[Sokolov] The KGB leadership continues to deny that telephone conversations are tapped and that mail is opened. What sense does it make to deny the obvious?

[Kalugin] Deliberate lies are one of the main qualities of our party-committee system. The current chief of the Public Liaison Administration, General Karbainov, did not blush when, speaking on the TV program "Rezonans," he lied that the KGB has nothing to do with the persecution of Hare Krishnas or putting dissidents in psychiatric wards. The existence of files on millions of citizens is denied with equal impudence. The organs have the longest memory (since the year 1918), and therein lies the power of the KGB. The lies are proliferated to the effect that there are no documents regarding the locations of the graves of those subjected to reprisals.... Priceless documents are concealed from historians. For example, I have had in my hands a three-volume file (reports, tapping records) on Anna Akhmatova which the Main Political Directorate-People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs-KGB maintained on Anna Akhmatova from 1927 until her death. There are millions of such files, and they need to be declassified as soon as possible.

[Sokolov] As Western authors maintain, there are powerful disinformation services working within the KGB....

[Kalugin] Our organization has perfected political surveillance and moral terror. They continue to practice it now in a less talented manner. For example, the February campaign of rumors about possible pogroms and clashes was clearly of an organized nature.

[Sokolov] What is your attitude toward the existence of the Ninth KGB Administration?

[Kalugin] It has now been renamed the guard service. As they maintain, the staff has even been reduced. However, this is not to say that the essence has changed. This is a real department of the court. The guard of U.S. presidents together with the White House police numbers about 700. This includes drivers, bodyguards....

[Sokolov] Is it more than that in our country?

[Kalugin] "The Ninth" is larger than any ministry; the administration has unlimited opportunities, and in practice is not under anybody's control. The cost of maintaining it is enormous.

[Sokolov] Don't you exaggerate the danger to our society posed by the special services?

[Kalugin] The transformation of an intelligence service, which is definitely necessary to collect information, into a political instrument in the hands of the top ruling echelon makes the service immoral. It violates constitutional and civil rights and international norms; its officers commit common crimes. Therefore, the operations of both the CIA and the KGB, those of any special service, are in the same dimension. Both organizations proceeded in their work from the position of the end justifying the means. For example, the CIA gave up the norms of Christian ethics in the name of "defending Western civilization." Its lawless acts became public in the early 1970's, and American society subjected its special service to cleansing: Its leadership was changed, and its staff and appropriations were reduced.

[Sokolov] However, in the United States oversight by the Senate and the Congress was reinforced. To my mind, such control is absent in our country....

[Kalugin] What kind of oversight of the KGB on the part of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and State Security can there be when, due to a number of circumstances, its leaders are people dependent on the KGB and the military-industrial complex. Genuinely independent and authoritative people are necessary in order to establish even an appearance of oversight.

The trouble is that our society so far does not quite understand how dangerous it is to keep a loaded gun at home, does not quite demand reforms in the KGB, whereas the organs are not capable of cleansing themselves....

[Sokolov] Do you support proposals to eliminate the KGB as a separate organization?

[Kalugin] The power functions of the KGB are too great. Its potential may always be used again for political ends. A fundamental reorganization may consist of transferring the internal counterintelligence services and those who are involved in fighting organized crime to the MVD, and creating the Main State Security Administration in the MVD. Our huge Sixth Administration of Economic Security would reinforce the Combating the Theft of Socialist Property Services. The KGB troops would be transferred to the composition of the MVD interior troops. The potential for fighting common crime which the MVD has, and its material facilities, would be reinforced quickly. The intelligence services would work as an independent organization reporting to the president.

The border guard troops should be merged with the customs into a single department for the guarding of borders.

The investigative subdivisions of the KGB would join a unified investigative committee together with similar services of the MVD and the procuracy.

[Sokolov] What if this is not done?

[Kalugin] The committee that retains even potentially the structures of the political police will unavoidably interfere in politics by virtue of lack of control over it.

I believe that the time has come to acknowledge: The KGB has spread ideological myths, suspicion, and spy mania in our country behind the screen of the task of protecting the state against foreign intelligence services. However, not a single special service of the world has done as much harm to the prestige of our country as we have ourselves by preserving the dominance of the nomenklatura, whose interests the KGB has always safeguarded. The time has now come to dispel the universal fear of the pillar of the regime, the almighty and all-powerful organization.

P.S.

The interview was prepared before PRAVDA (28 June 1990) published a commentary by anonymous employees of the KGB Public Liaison Center on the statements of O.D. Kalugin recorded by correspondent V. Ivanov under the heading "Everybody Chooses His Own Fate." The tone of the article and the scale of accusations leveled against the former intelligence officer prompted us to ask for explanations.

[Sokolov] Oleg Danilovich, the accusation against you is that the efficiency of work of the Foreign Counterintelligence Administration headed by you "was low." Is that so?

[Kalugin] This service was actually created from scratch by me and one other general (he has also fallen out of favor by now). Before us, these structures were insignificant and not up to the requirements of the time. Let me point out just two details: During the time of my work the apparatus of our assistants abroad increased by a factor of three; it was exactly in 1978, when in the opinion of my "colleagues" I messed up our work, that I was awarded the Order of the Red Banner.

[Sokolov] Your anonymous opponents state that "the information leak is not innocuous," tie your name to cases of betrayal, though indirectly, and say that you are to blame for "losing the most valuable source working in the CIA"....

[Kalugin] They need to hint everywhere that a former intelligence officer is a spy in order to cast slurs upon him. This is an old practice.... As far as the "source" is concerned, I may state authoritatively: We had nobody to lose. Until 2 January 1980, for as long as I headed the administration, we received various secret documents, but we did not have our man on the staff of the CIA. Lies are being used in this instance.

[Sokolov] Here is one more serious accusation: They say that counterintelligence has been working considerably better since you were removed from managing it....

[Kalugin] In the entire period that I headed the administration only one highly-placed KGB officer defected from us to the West. Since 1980, approximately 15 people have. Virtually our entire agent network has been lost. What kind of success is it if the flight goes on: The last KGB officer went over to the West in April 1990. For some reason the USSR KGB Public Liaison Center did not risk boasting this.

[Sokolov] You told us about a scientist on whom they tried "to pin" a charge of espionage. PRAVDA maintains that the KGB has a document in which you confirm the lawfulness of his conviction for speculating in currency and antiques.

[Kalugin] I have never denied the very fact of violation of the law. There was a transaction with hard currency and antiques worth 3,000 rubles. However, the essence of my dispute with the leadership was that, after failing to pronounce this man a spy, a special KGB agent was placed close to him. He set the scientist up for this operation, exploiting his Western habits: In the West, this was regular, trivial business. You would agree that engaging in such provocations is, at the very least, immoral.

[Sokolov] Are you indeed attracted to "the Bohemian way of life?"

[Kalugin] I have many friends who are actors and artists. We do go to restaurants sometimes....

[Sokolov] As the employees of the Public Liaison Center maintain, you have acquired "influential ties." What are they hinting at?

[Kalugin] I have several acquaintances among the members of the Presidential Council. However, at present they are not giving me any support. Could it be that they meant my good acquaintance with Z. Brzezinski and Fulbright?

[Sokolov] Were you not surprised that the KGB did not object in any way to the essence of your criticism, whereas its press service just "got personal?"

[Kalugin] Naturally I was not surprised. This very style proves to any normal person that they have nothing to say. They can no longer have me shot, nor can they put me in a psychiatric ward. They cannot object, and all that remains is to try to discredit me. The KGB and PRAVDA have a lot of experience as far as this is concerned. They want to distract the people from the main issue—that the essence of the KGB as a repressive instrument and an apparatus of police surveillance remains unchanged.

[Sokolov] Are you taking the risk of continuing your opposition?

[Kalugin] He who takes risks is putting all his eggs in one basket, as the proverb says. I do not do that, and the KGB knows this.

KGB Comments on Kalugin's Allegations

90UF0349A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 27, 7-13 Jul 90 p 6

[Article by O. Tsarev under the rubric "The USSR KGB Communicates and Comments": "Not To Live By Lies"]

[Text] On 4 July 1979, KGB Major General Oleg Danilovich Kalugin reported to the leadership on the stenographic record of his conversation with the prisoner K. Here is an excerpt from it:

[Kalugin] What prompted your criminal deeds?

[K] For the dacha alone, 30,000 rubles had to be paid. A Jew who was going to go to Israel was urgently selling it. But we only had 7,000. We had to get money as soon as possible.... I did not know that it was illegal to sell dollars....

[Kalugin] However, as far as I know, you were involved in this selling and purchasing before 1977 as well? Frankly speaking, I had difficulty believing it when I was told that you were arrested in a criminal case associated with hard-currency speculation."

O.D. Kalugin did not only certify this document with his signature, but also wrote in a separate report on a meeting with K:

"Friends from among Armenians and Jews who were interested in his dollars appeared around him. Gradually, he became involved in purchasing and selling antiques and began to sell dollars.... K said: 'I was sentenced correctly.'"

Here is an extract from the indictment in the criminal case against K:

"Having established criminal contacts with Malkhasyan, Ratnovskiy, Manukyan, Afgan citizens Qayumi Abdul Rasul and Muhammed Salim Ali, Lebanese citizen Halawi Omar Ahmad, Iranian citizen Mohammadzade-Sarab Sprus, and other individuals, between 1967 and 1977 in Moscow he got involved in large-scale speculation in hard-currency valuables, antiques, religious objects, and manufactured goods, in violation of the rules on hard-currency operations, with the aim of profiteering, as a business..."

K was exactly "the arrested citizen, a scientist" who, as Kalugin assures us now, "was sentenced to seven years imprisonment in a fabricated case and was languishing in our camps." According to Kalugin, the case against K was fabricated by the KGB. However, a mere comparison of genuine documents with Kalugin's current pronouncements shows that he is lying now.

What is the purpose of these lies? The same as that of all other lies which permeate the statement of General Kalugin, who found himself on the sidelines—in order that those assembled in the October Hall, as he puts it, "not have creeping doubts regarding the purpose" of his presence there, so that they "would not think" that he "jumped on the bandwagon of the 'Democratic Platform' for some unseemly considerations." It was under this cover that he tried to force through a legend of himself as a fighter for human rights, and to top it off at no other time than at the height of stagnation, and nowhere else but in the ranks of the KGB! Alas, despite the fact that, according to him, Kalugin is an experienced intelligence officer, his legend did not stand up to real verification.

Many of the statements in Kalugin's speech are hard to take issue with because they are unsubstantiated, and therefore irrefutable. The calculation of Kalugin in this matter is simple: Those who want to believe him do, and those who do not want to, do not believe. However, he believes that when a general's sheepskin hat and 30 years of service are factored in, they will most likely believe him. However, what happens if Kalugin is lying, just as he lied about the case against the scientist K fabricated by the security organs? "I know;" and this is it; this is his argument, and it cannot be verified.

Indeed, how can the assertion that "the personnel strength of our organs of state security exceeds all organs of Europe, America, and Asia combined" be verified, since all states keep such data secret, and even Kalugin himself does not know this data? Or how can information that, in the course of perestroyka, only an insignificant proportion of KGB employees have taken positions on the left, and "a still greater proportion went to the right" be verified? Is a sociological survey of them to be commissioned? If Kalugin has not done that, it is worth a thought. After all, Kalugin builds his main conclusion, that the KGB is an opponent of perestroyka, a pillar of conservative forces in the country, on this completely unfounded premise, and for this very reason "if we want to seriously engage in perestroyka we cannot act hand in hand" with this organization.

Kalugin theatrically asks: "Where were the KGB organs during the Sumgait, Frunze, and Tbilisi events? ...Why are the Ministry of Internal Affairs organs and the Army, an unfortunate army which is forced to fight its own people, in the forefront in our country?" One does not have to be a genius in order to discern here a demagogic attempt to set the state security organs against the Ministry of Internal Affairs organs and the Armed Forces, while at the same time misinforming the listeners or readers. Still, certain things will have to be explained.

First—Kalugin knows this very well—the KGB does not have armed formations with any degree of personnel strength for controlling mass disturbances. In addition, the tasks of the organs of state security are not at all to demonstrate force of arms. Their task is to secure information on those who are preparing to commit the acts that were and are committed in Central Asia and Transcaucasia, when and where, and to refer this information in a timely manner to the leading organs for appropriate decisions to be made. The organs of state security diligently accomplished, and accomplish, this task.

(Footnote) (Why were the tragic events not prevented then, and which leading organs does the author have in mind? After all, the USSR KGB chairman is a member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. The president, the chairman of the Council of Ministers, and the minister of defense are its members too. So, to whom is the responsibility being shifted in an offhand manner?—editorial note) Moreover, when a threat to human lives is involved, KGB officers display personal courage, frequently rebuff the criminals alone, and rescue people. There are many examples of this.

Secondly, it is blasphemous and extremely unfair to say that our Armed Forces fight their own people. Once again, those who the peaceful population of Transcaucasia and Central Asia have to be defended against get little and poor coverage in our country.

A remark made in passing about the participation of the KGB in fighting organized crime may be classified as quite a bad joke which, to be sure, made some of those present in the October Hall laugh—that, supposedly, they catch speculators in foreign wares, prostitutes, and moonshiners. There is not a word about the state security organs returning to the state tens of millions of rubles confiscated from swindlers working with currency, about preventing artistic valuables belonging to the category of the national wealth from being smuggled out of the country, or about the transit of dozens of tons of drugs being intercepted.

He says that in the time of perestroyka KGB employees have nothing to do. Counterintelligence? Whatever for, if former CIA director Colby officially comes to Moscow himself? Indeed, William Colby visited the Soviet Union not so long ago, but as a private citizen in order to participate in a seminar on the issue of fighting terrorism, rather than as a CIA representative. Soviet counterintelligence has things to do in the time of perestroyka, glasnost, and new thinking as well. The onslaught of foreign intelligence services is not at all getting weaker, despite the relaxation of international tensions. In the last several years alone, counterintelligence officers have uncovered more than 30 agents of foreign intelligence services among Soviet citizens. The damage done by spies has been considerable. Kalugin also knows this very well; however, he believed that it would be advantageous for him to keep silent about it.

To keep silent about this and many other things which do not fit his concept—that of the disintegration of the organs of state security, their reduction, repatterning, division, and so on, which, incidentally, would cost the state a pretty penny instead of resulting in savings.

Incidentally, civilized laws apply to the employees of special services in the civilized countries to which Kalugin frequently refers. In particular, in the United States a revealing of affiliation with the intelligence service may draw up to 10 years of imprisonment and a fine of up to $50,000. In England, a vow of silence is imposed by law on the employees of special services, including former employees.

It is quite indicative that the appearance by Kalugin in the October Hall and his interviews to some publications occurred at the time a draft law on the USSR KGB is waiting its turn in the USSR Supreme Soviet. In this law it is proposed to set forth legal foundations for the operation of the organs of state security absolutely publicly.

In this case there will be no idle talk or reservations. There will be no pretext for the lies and speculation to which Kalugin has resorted.

Paper Attacks 'Two-Faced' Kalugin's Revelations

PM3107095590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Jul 90 Second Edition p 6

[Article by V. Ilyukhin, chief of the USSR Prosecutor's Office Administration for the Supervision of the Implementation of Laws on State Security, under the "Position" rubric: "Rally Temptation"]

[Text] As has already been reported in the press, criminal proceedings against former KGB General O. Kalugin have been instituted in the past few days. The investigation carried out by the Main Military Prosecutor's Office will determine whether Kalugin's actions were criminal. I would like to reflect on something else in these notes—on the moral aspect of the position of the former high-ranking counterintelligence agent and the motives that guide him in his regular appearances at rallies and in the press. The point is that the laws of conscience do not always coincide with legal ones: Its justice is much more stringent....

Amid the increasing campaign of slander against the CPSU, the appearance of Kalugin on the political scene, in my opinion, is no accident. It seems that the sequence of events is not accidental either. First of all, his speech at the "Democratic Platform" conference, with disclosures about "KGB intrigues;" then the sensational material in the popular weeklies. After that, the long-winded speeches by certain people's deputies on television, and the demand to the USSR Supreme Soviet chairman for the activity of the USSR KGB in its relations with the CPSU to be investigated.

Then the Moscow Soviet session put off urgent matters and examined the activity of the KGB in the newspapers (it had absolutely no further information), "stigmatized" it and the CPSU, and called them "to account"....

I do not want to dwell on all the positions of O. Kalugin, who claims to possess the absolute truth. USSR KGB personnel, including Chairman V.A. Kryuchkov, gave an assessment of this at the 28th party congress. I will just broach certain aspects.

Kalugin maintains that the activity of the current USSR KGB amounts to total lawlessness and violation of human rights and is a continuation of operating methods from Stalinist times. This is a serious charge, but on what is it based? Perhaps only on certain failures in Soviet intelligence that he mentioned, on Kalugin's personal and official conflicts with the KGB leadership, and, according to him, on "Mafia-style departmental secrecy."

Yes, there have been failures and blunders in intelligence and counterintelligence work. It is difficult to be completely safeguarded against them. And they will continue to occur while two-faced people like Kalugin—though they may be few—work in the state security organs.

In what way was the former general two-faced? Well, for example, he stated publicly: "My conscience is clear." If it is clear, then why was it half asleep for 30 years, while Kalugin was working in the KGB? Why did he not protest, why did he not leave the state security organs, which, he has asserted, resembled the mafia and operated using unlawful methods? If you follow Kalugin's logic, you reach the conclusion that he himself violated laws for 30 years, humiliated people, and violated their rights and freedoms. After all, he did not occupy ordinary posts, but mainly leading ones. While the KGB was moving him up the official ladder, rewarding him, and supporting him, Kalugin was silent.

It is now fashionable to masquerade as an accuser and fighter for justice. And the "has-beens," in the hope of rising to the top again, are not all that scrupulous in the means they employ. They try everything: speculation on people's feelings, deceit, and juggling with facts.

Without batting an eye, Kalugin palms off on the broad public false information about the criminal case of the scientist K, who was was one of a group of people to be charged with violating rules on currency operations. And K's guilt was established by a number of proofs reached by the investigation, which were carefully verified in court.

The foreword to one of Kalugin's interviews says: "In 1987, as a result of a deterioration in relations with the Leningrad leadership, which had suspended the cases regarding bribe-taking, I was returned to Moscow to the KGB reserve." Strong words! Evidently put in at Kalugin's instigation. An editorial office itself could not have obscured the issue to such an extent with one sentence. But what leadership was this, and what cases of bribery were suspended?

Later Kalugin lifted the veil of secrecy: "And the latest about the "Gatchina case." At that time around 40 people were arrested in the party and soviet apparatus on charges of bribe-taking. The case was being led jointly by the oblast prosecutor's office and the Internal Affairs Main Administration. None of those arrested complained about the inquiry procedure. The oblast prosecutor and the CPSU Obkom [oblast party committee] spoke highly of the concerted work of the law enforcement organs. Until then, there were no indications as to the high level of bribe-taking in the Leningrad Gorispolkom [city soviet executive committee]. The case was suspended on the obkom's instructions, and in this connection I sent in a protest to the USSR Prosecutor General and the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee." One reads these sentences and becomes increasingly astonished by the shameless lie....

There is no "Gatchina case" to do with bribe-taking in the party and soviet apparatus as such. This is an invention on Kalugin's part, so as to look more impressive, and it is an attempt to pass off an ordinary criminal act as a large-scale, political, mafia-style affair. He, a general, could not fritter away his energy and he had no other example to follow.

Kalugin overlooked the fact that his so-called protest is being kept in the USSR Prosecutor's Office, and the criminal cases which have been examined and to which he referred so lightly are in the Leningrad Court archives. Indeed, in 1985-1987 the Leningrad Oblast Prosecutor's Office together with the internal affairs organs examined several cases of bribe-taking, including some in Gatchinskiy Rayon, and crimes committed in the timber procurement business by team leaders of lumberjacks, forestry officials, and officials from the Oktyabr Railroad, and from the trade and law enforcement organs. In two years, legal proceedings were instituted against several dozen people. But none of them were party workers. The investigation into the abovementioned cases were concluded, since the investigators did not establish any new criminal links.

We could cite Kalugin's letter to the Party Control Committee in full. But there is no need to do this because, as far as its content is concerned, it is a model of the clearest eclecticism interspersed with sloganeering. And, to Kalugin's indignation, its essence boiled down to the fact that the Kotelskiy rural soviet did not agree to call to account Deputy I. Andreychenko for pilfering. Such refusals to act have often been seen in the past, and even now they are not rare.

Kalugin spoke a great deal about the Leningrad events, only he forgot to mention one thing: that in the so-called "Gatchina Case" he persistently involved himself in the investigation, proposing to bring people to account with no evidence. He did this repeatedly until he was asked to leave. So, after that, is it possible to believe in the reliability of his "denunciations"?

His statements to the effect that the KGB no longer has anything to do are astonishing. The committee is now apparently concerned with prostitutes, bootleggers, and other petty criminal elements.

Another lie. Cases of high treason, espionage, smuggling, and the violation of currency regulations are constantly to be found in the security officers' work. State security investigators are actively involved in the investigation of cases involving corruption, bribe-taking, murder, and racketeering. They return tens of millions of rubles to the state every year. They stop frequent attempts to smuggle abroad articles of artistic or historical value that belong to our people. KGB investigators, and they are few, despite Kalugin's desire to exaggerate and frighten people, are carrying out intensive work investigating crimes committed for interethnic reasons. KGB workers together with the prosecutor's office are making great efforts to rehabilitate the victims of Stalinist repressions. I can state this with authority on the basis of my own experience. Kalugin is well-informed but deliberately spreads disinformation.

His accusations that the KGB has been ineffective in preventing interethnic conflicts are unconvincing. Of course, the law enforcement organs bear responsibility for this, but it would be unfair to put the whole burden on their shoulders. After all, it is no secret that separatism has been elevated to official policy in a number of Union republics. At present almost 40 million Russian-speaking citizens and an equal number of non-indigenous citizens in the outlying districts of the Union are subject to humiliation and insulted as outcasts. Is it within the powers of one department to untie these tight knots?

Now some people have been caught up in rally fever, and are shouting: "Down with the KGB." They are practically proposing that there be a discussion actually at the rally in front of all the people about which intelligence agents should be sent where. Some push the crowds toward a dangerous stampede out of naivete, while others do it with evil intent. It seems that there has been everything in our history: spy-mania, blind faith, victories, and defeats. It is a pity that we forget our mistakes so quickly.

And it is worth reflecting on certain things. The West considers how a leak of information costs billions of dollars not at rallies but in a business situation. In this connection, President Bush has announced that he is aiming for a further increase in the efficiency of the U.S. special services.

Let me add that there is a requirement that binds all CIA employees not to disclose secret information, which involves a lifelong obligation to present all information for censorship before publication. Penalties for disclosing secret information about the activity of U.S. intelligence, its employees, or its agents, including disclosure in the mass media, have been greatly enhanced. The above-mentioned activities are punishable by a fine of up to $50,000 or up to 10 years' imprisonment.

In our country many people have emerged wanting us to be the same as the West in everything. But what about in this case? Is the West an authority for us? Then perhaps we must resort to common sense and honesty in talking with the general public.

Journal Publishes Readers' Letters on Kalugin

90UF0349B Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 27, 7-13 Jul 90 p 7

[Letters from ARGUMENTY I FAKTY readers: "Opinions Differ That Much"]

[Text] Keeping a promise we made in our last issue, we published a KGB commentary on the statement of O. Kalugin. We hope that the readers themselves will voice their opinion on the quality of this commentary. We did not intend to publish any additional materials in this issue. However, the publication in IZVESTIYA on 4 July of a report on measures taken by the USSR president, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the USSR KGB chairman with regard to O. Kalugin prompted numerous letters and telephone calls. In conjunction with this we decided to publish the readers' responses and asked O. Kalugin to answer the most common questions of our subscribers.

He Betrayed State Interests

Speaking at a conference of "the Democratic Platform in the CPSU," KGB General Kalugin, in the heat of denouncing "the intrigues of the KGB," overstepped all the limits of what is officially allowed by law and the pledge he signed not to divulge data learned in the course of duty.

To betray the interests and political views he was guided by when serving in the organs of state security is a matter for his conscience. However, betraying our state interests transcends the limits of his current political views; he should be held accountable for them under the law if we believe ours to be a rule-of-law state. The law should apply to all, privates and generals, party members and nonparty members, those in cadre service and retirees.

[Signed] V. Pimenov, veteran of labor and the Great Patriotic War

The Punishment Is Unlawful

Reserve Major General O.D. Kalugin has been stripped of state awards, his military rank, and all other regalia "for actions besmirching the honor and dignity of an employee of state security" by an ukase of the USSR president, a resolution of the USSR Government, and an order of the USSR KGB chairman. The disgraced general is blamed for revealing in several oral and written statements some matters of his home department which, to his mind, still performs functions that are incompatible with the principles of a democratic rule-of-law state.

The former general communicated virtually nothing new about the operations of the most secret organization in the country, merely confirming by his authority and some details what many people have surmised. However, even this turned out to be enough to erase many years of impeccable service.

The response of the KGB leadership is not surprising. Throughout the world special services are not kind to apostates. What is surprising is the position of the president and the government. It is doubly surprising because almost simultaneously with stripping Kalugin of state decorations the president signed an ukase on restoring the citizenship of Aleksandr Zinovyev, Vladimir Maksimov, and Zhores Medvedev. The revelations of a state security general are not necessary to appreciate the role played in persecuting these people in their time by KGB personnel who, of course, have not besmirched their honor and dignity at all by doing so and, by all signs, have no reason to worry about their decorations and ranks.

Did the president understand the ambiguity of the situation when he eliminated injustices with regard to former dissidents and committed an injustice with regard to a current dissident? I would not like to speculate about the underpinnings of this peculiar "exchange," but one unwittingly gets the impression that, following an attack by high-ranking military men at one party congress, the leader of the party needed the support of an organization no less formidable than the Army at the other congress.

Politics aside, the issue in question also has a legal aspect. Pursuant to the criminal legislation in effect, the removal of state decorations, military and other special ranks is performed on the basis of a request by the courts in conjunction with committing a crime the fact of which has been established by a sentence having become legally valid. What crime did Kalugin commit? What specifically did this crime amount to? Which legislative provision envisages responsibility for it? To be sure, the president and the government acted within their authority. However, is such an authority justified if it allows executive power to make its own adjudication on the basis of a representation made by an interested department?

I am curious where Kalugin may turn to if he wishes to appeal the decisions taken with regard him. This problem does not arise in a developed democratic society in which the courts exercise control of executive power. So far, an individual in our country has no protection at all against this power. Perhaps the Constitutional Oversight Committee should speak up not only with regard to specific acts of the president and the government but also with regard to the entirety of arrangements that make it possible to strip an individual of his decorations and ranks when he has not been found by a court to have committed a crime against society.

[Signed] A. Pokhmelkin, candidate of legal sciences

Legal Expert Comments on KGB Draft Law

LD2907124890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1950 GMT 28 Jul 90

[From the "Before and After Midnight" program]

[Text] [Announcer Vladimir Molchanov] Since our last program we have received very many telephone calls, letters, and telegrams from people asking what is wrong with our society. The reason for this is, of course, that age-old fear present in all of us, which—God willing—our children will no longer experience. You will recall that KGB General Kalugin was in this studio for our last program. A few days later he was stripped of his general's rank and all his medals.

Today we wish to continue the KGB topic, especially since the USSR Committee of State Security has itself drawn up the draft law dealing wih its activities and has sent it to the USSR Supreme Soviet. Subsequently, it was forwarded for expert study, in particular by the Institute of State and Law of the USSR Academy of Science. In the studio we have Professor Valeriy Mikhaylovich Savitskiy of the Institute of State and Law, who holds the rank of doctor of jurisprudence. You have read this law. You have given expert advice on it. What do you think of it?

[Savitskiy] Yes, of course, I have read the law. All of us have been awaiting this law. Until recently there was no law whatsoever covering the KGB. Millions of Soviet people have discovered at the cost of their own skins—please pardon this coarse expression—what the OGPU, the NKVD, the MGB, and the KGB are all about. These abbreviations have never signified anything except terror—enslaving, humiliating terror. Unfortunately, even now the very mention of the word "organs"—note how the meaning of a good Russian word has been defiled—is still enough to literally paralyze and even destroy a person in our country. Now we have a law.

[Molchanov] I am holding it in my hands. There are 22 pages.

[Savitskiy] Yes. May I have a look? Thank you. The law has arrived and we have given our views on it. In its report our institute said that the law needs fundamental revision. The basic concept of this law needs to be changed. At the moment the law gives the KGB enormous and, basically, unlimited powers. It stands as a state within a state, veiled in secrecy. Unfortunately, the curtailing of its functions, the limitation and narrowing of its powers, which were expected, which—it seems to me—are necessary, have not been accomplished by the draft law.

[Molchanov] Valeriy Mikhaylovich, forgive me for interrupting you. I am not a lawyer but I have read this law. What amazed and greatly disturbed me was the fact that on almost every single page you find the phase "the KGB has the right." Virtually nowhere do you read "the KGB is obliged."

[Savitskiy] Yes, you are right. The powers of the KGB are expressed most frequently by the words "the KGB has the right." Well, this organ must, of course, have some rights. But I would like to draw your attention to some of the rights which the KGB is given by this draft. In order to accomplish its tasks, the draft says, the KGB has the right to establish overt and covert contacts with citizens. Maybe, you understand what this formula means. Speaking for myself, I do not.

[Molchanov] It is not very clear to me, although I imagine that similar practices exist in other countries.

[Savitskiy] Yes. Maybe they do exist in other countries. But we have enough problems of our own. I, for example, can visualize the following situation. Even if, for instance, I do not want to enter into overt or covert contacts with the KGB, apparently I must. If I do not want to enter into contacts with the Ministry of Civil Aviation, I simply don't buy an airline ticket, and go by train instead. But if a KGB agent approaches me and proposes some overt or covert relationship, can I refuse?

[Molchanov] The draft law says that you are obliged to help them.

[Savitskiy] Yes. That's right. The bill says that citizens are obliged to assist the state security bodies in the maintenance of security and in the struggle against crime. This is a legal obligation. Prosecution must follow if it is not carried out. Whether you like it or not, you have to help them. I am very much afraid that this might revive the practice of informing. In any event, this wording will certainly not reduce the number of informers.

Or take another right. You asked me about the rights. Under the draft law, the KGB has the right to provide references of various kinds about individuals, when asked to do so by public organizations and state bodies. Such references might concern their knowledge of secrets or affect their applications for Soviet citizenship, for the restoration of citizenship, to emigrate and so on. This is described as a right, even though all other agencies are obliged to provide such references. But here they have the right to say: "If we want to give references, we will; if we don't want to, we won't." I very much doubt that, given such formulations, we can genuinely honor the commitments we took upon ourselves when we signed international accords on civil rights.

There are some other problems connected with this law. Why does an organ whose prime responsibility is intelligence and counterintelligence, also take upon itself the task of investigating crimes, conventional crimes?

[Molchanov] In other words, it is usurping the functions of the militia?

[Savitskiy] Quite right. Investigation has to be the task of an investigative committee which is not responsible to any department. Such a committee must be set up in the country. Indeed, the USSR Supreme Soviet took a decision on this on 18 April. The KGB wants to keep its investigators. If you take away its investigators, this will be a first step toward increasing the procurator's and, in a number of cases, the Supreme Soviet's supervision of investigations. Second, it will end the colossal concentration of power now residing in the hands of the KGB.

I would also like to make the following point. There is a clause in the draft law which says that the KGB assists internal affairs bodies and other law enforcement agencies in maintaining law and order. One might think that such a formula was a straightforward, neutral one. But it is a very dangerous formula. It means that whenever somebody is accused of transgressing law and order, the KGB can deploy its forces. Against whom is it going to defend law and order—against the striking miners, against demonstrators? This interference by the KGB in internal affairs is the depressing leitmotiv of the entire bill. Anybody would think that we did not have prisoners of conscience and that the punitive psychiatric prisons were empty. This leitmotiv must be removed from the law.

The KGB must direct the spearhead, so to speak, of its powers at external, not internal targets. The combination of functions, under which the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the KGB basically act as a single organ, is a frightening thing. But the entire draft law is permeated by precisely this idea, cooperation with the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and emphasis on internal affairs.

[Molchanov] Valeriy Mikhaylovich, I know that one year ago you tried to have your views on KGB activities aired on our program "Spotlight on Perestroyka." We had such a program at that time. But that "Spotlight" was never broadcast. Today you are free to talk about this on a live program.

[Savitskiy] Yes.

[Molchanov] But would you please answer this point. It has now become fashionable to abuse the KGB. But, surely, there must also be some very worthwhile clauses in this draft. What did your institute have to say about this?

[Savitskiy] Well, one worthwhile thing about the draft is the repeated stipulation that the KGB is answerable to the law in its activities, and is guided by it—although even this is phrased very vaguely. I would frankly say that the principle of the supremacy of the law has been relegated to the background in this draft. But somewhere it does say that the KGB is answerable to the Supreme Soviet, the president, and the government. There are, of course, certain provisos. But all the same I do not think that these provisos change the substance of the draft. Above all, the draft confirms the KGB as an omnipotent, all-powerful organ. I believe that until we change the KGB's position in our society, until people cease to tremble at the very mention of the words "state security," the emphasis in our country will not be on a civil, free society and we will not be building a law-governed state.

I very much hope that when the draft is discussed by the Supreme Soviet, the deputies will painstakingly and scrupulously examine absolutely every clause in the bill. I very much hope that once the draft has been examined by the Supreme Soviet committees, it will be published for nationwide debate. The past activities of these organs have cost our people too much blood and tears for the people to stand aside now, when the legislative foundations for the future activities of security organs are being formed.

[Molchanov] Well, let's hope that this happens. Thank you very much for your commentary, for your examination. All the best. [Savitskiy] Thank you.

State Secrets Preserved Under New Press Law

PM3007105290 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with V.A. Boldyrev, chief of the USSR Council of Ministers Main Administration for Safeguarding State Secrets in the Press, by IZVESTIYA correspondent; place and date not given: "No Censorship, But Secrets Remain"—first two paragraphs are an editorial introduction]

[Text] The USSR Law "On the Press and Other Mass Media" adopted by the country's Supreme Soviet comes into force 1 August.

The law does not permit censorship of mass information or interference in the activity of the mass media by officials of state and social organs. At the same time it is prohibited to use the mass media to publish information constituting a state secret or other secrets specially protected by law. Formerly this aspect of publication was the responsibility of Glavlit [Main Administration for Safeguarding State Secrets in the Press]. But how is this legal requirement to be met in future? V.A. Boldyrev, chief of the USSR Council of Ministers Main Administration for Safeguarding State Secrets in the Press, shared his views on this question with our correspondent.

[IZVESTIYA] Vladimir Alekseyevich, will the Main Administration's organs take part in some form or other in safeguarding secrets in the press, or does the abolition of censorship mean the end of Glavlit?

[Boldyrev] Many people, and not only press workers, identify Glavlit with censorship, that is, with supervision of the content of items published in the press. But for some years we have not been engaged in that kind of censorship. So 1 August can officially be regarded as the day of the "death" of Glavlit—of censorship, although this process began earlier. But the Main Administration for Safeguarding State Secrets in the Press continues to exist as a functional, structural organization subordinate to the government.

We have drawn up a draft new provision on the Main Administration and submitted it for examination by the USSR Council of Ministers.

We can see three ways of preventing the publication of information constituting state secrets. First, the leader of a mass media organ—the editor or chief editor—takes this responsibility upon himself: He himself decides what information is appropriate for publication, and, where necessary, he obtains expert advice on material, in particular material of a scientific and technical nature, and is himself fully responsible for safeguarding secrets and so forth. Second, this work is entrusted to a senior staffer of the media organ. And third, the media organ concludes a contract with us under which the Main Administration takes on the task of examining materials and taking advice on them. In this case full responsibility for safeguarding state secrets rests with us.

[IZVESTIYA] As far as I can tell from conversations and certain press articles, the majority of the mass media leaders support this third path. How will this mechanism operate?

[Boldyrev] Our staffer reads the item submitted to him for consultation and brings to the attention of the publication's editor the existence in the said item of any information that is protected from publication, since he himself does not have the power to issue permission or to ban. The decision whether to publish the item in its original form, to make alterations to it, to request the opinion of an expert commission, and so forth is taken by the editor. If our staffer fails to notice or to inform the editor of the existence of such information in an article he has read, the responsibility rests with the relevant subunit of the Main Administration. Equally, our organs bear the responsibility for an unjustified, incorrect assessment of items and for raising the question of removing information whose publication is not in fact banned.

In addition, under the contract the Main Administration or its local organ take it upon themselves regularly to brief editorial staffers on the main requirements in the sphere of safeguarding state secrets and to hold consultations of various kinds. This path seems to us most fully to cover the interests of both the state and the mass media, which, of course, have no interest in publishing secrets—after all, the relationship between the Main Administration and the editorial office will change from that of "controller-subordinate" to one of mutually acceptable cooperation.

[IZVESTIYA] Do you admit that some people might not agree to this cooperation?

[Boldyrev] No doubt some mass media leaders will think that the items they publish cannot, to the best of their knowledge, contain information subject to protection, or that at least they themselves can prevent the publication of such information. And with the best will in the world we could not accept for consultation materials from many of the mass media. For instance, the majority of rayon, city, rural, and factory newspapers and many radio studios. After all, we have representatives mainly in the republic capitals and in kray and oblast centers.

Also, there are categories of items in which the probability of the publication of state secrets is negligibly small—literature on many sectors of the human and natural sciences, fine arts, music, reprints, translated literature, and so forth. The mass media that publish items of this kind will probably refrain from concluding contracts with us for advice, and we do not need pointless work.

[IZVESTIYA] And how will the relationship be organized between the Main Administration and these mass media? What if their publications should at some time contain information subject to protection from publication?

[Boldyrev] The Main Administration can supply the necessary documents at the request of organs publishing or producing mass information: lists of information subject to protection from publication in the press, methodological recommendations on the procedure for carrying out such work, and so forth. If these organizations so wish, we can provide them with methodological and consultative assistance and instruct their staffers in the methods of safeguarding secrets in the press. And finally, on the basis of sample copies of press publications, we will verify their compliance with legal requirements, so as to prevent the publication of information subject to protection, with all the consequences ensuing from those requirements.

[IZVESTIYA] What other functions will the Main Administration take on?

[Boldyrev] To be more precise, it will not take on these functions; the country's government will confer them upon it. The Main Administration's tasks could, I suppose, include—apart from measures to protect state secrets from publication in the press and other mass media and in materials destined for export—organizing and improving the country's integrated system for safeguarding state secrets in the press and other mass media, providing methodological assistance to expert commissions, and preparing appropriate normative documents.

The Main Administration will evidently still be charged with preventing the distribution in our country of foreign publications arriving through open mail channels and audio and audiovisual materials containing calls for the violent overthrow or change of the existing state and social system, propaganda of war, violence, cruelty, or racial, national, or religious exclusivity or intolerance, pornography, or incitement to illegal acts. The Main Administration's functions, rights, and duties stemming from these tasks are set forth in detail in the provision, which we propose to publish openly.

We exercise control of literature and audio and audiovisual materials coming in from abroad not on our own whim and not simply on the basis of the government's decision, but in full accordance with international agreements that exist on this matter, including the World Postal Convention. Is this work necessary in principle, when you can obtain "something" in virtually every underpass? But not to do it would be equivalent to lifting the ban on open trade in weapons solely on the grounds that some criminals acquire weapons and ammunition by illegal means.

The criteria for defining foreign materials not appropriate for distribution in our country is also in accord with international documents and our own new Law on the Press—look at the first section of Article 5. So if, say, the propaganda of violence and pornography are impermissible in the Soviet press, why should we permit the dissemination of foreign materials on this subject?

[IZVESTIYA] What fundamentally new changes will take place, on the basis of the Law on the Press, in your work to control materials destined for export?

[Boldyrev] In brief, the procedure for sending them abroad has been further simplified. For instance, under the new directive, which we will circulate openly without a restrictive seal, from now on all organizations are granted the right autonomously, bypassing the ministry or department, to send materials abroad, and they themselves decide which materials to submit for examination by the Main Administration's organs with the aim of safeguarding state secrets (the main subject areas are indicated in the directive). Similar rights are granted to authors engaged in individual labor activity, pensioners, and other independent authors.

CPSU, Komsomol Draft Resolutions on Youth

90US1137A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jul 90 p 2

[Draft resolution of the 28th CPSU Congress and alternative draft prepared by the VLKSM Central Committee "On the Youth Policy of the CPSU": "Moscow. The Congress. Urgent!"]

[Text] **The 28th CPSU Congress has begun developing and adopting documents and resolutions. Among them there are plans to adopt the resolution "On the Youth Policy of the CPSU." The draft was prepared by the congress committee for the party's youth policy. The VLKSM [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League, Komsomol] Central Committee has prepared an alternative version of the draft resolution. We are publishing them today.**

Draft Prepared by the Delegates at the Congress

1. The 28th CPSU Congress notes that the fate of socialist society and the Communist Party is to a significant degree in the hands of the youth. Their activist position and their social self-awareness determine to a great degree the political situation in the country.

The congress considers it necessary to expedite development and practical implementation of an effective, integrated policy with regard to the younger generation, one that should provide for the creation of real conditions and stimuli for the thorough development of the personalities of young people, realization of their goals in life, and inclusion in important political and socioeconomic activities. The functions of the state toward the youth in this regard should be strictly limited.

2. The CPSU's policy with regard to the youth should be based on the principles of complete trust in them, acknowledgement of the right of the youth and their

organizations to independent political activity, and repudiation of administrative and command interference in their business.

The CPSU advocates a broad dialogue with young people and will cooperate, being guided by the VLKSM, with all youth organizations and movements of socialist choice, and it intends to support youth associations oriented toward the consolidation of social forces in the name of the real achievement of the goals of perestroyka.

The CPSU advocates consolidation of the efforts of state organs and public organizations to resolve the problems of the youth and it will fight to ensure, under conditions of political and economic reform, that the political rights of the youth are secured, that they have social protections, and that their economic independence and material security increase.

The CPSU will attain the expeditious development of the spheres of education and culture and the allotment to them of the necessary portion of the national income, and it will attempt to bring to the youth environment socialist ideas, universal values, the ideals of humanism and progress, and the principles of internationalism. It will attempt to form patriotic and civil qualities for young boys and girls based on their mastery of the national and cultural traditions of the peoples of the Soviet Union and their readiness to defend the USSR. The development and consolidation of the moral principles of the family and an increase in its contribution to the education of the younger generation must be a basis of public education.

By virtue of its active work among the youth, the CPSU will seek the youth's support of its own Program of Activities and create conditions for a flow of new forces into party ranks and for the rejuvenation of all spheres of public and state life. If during the difficult circumstances of the transition period communists do not develop a clear strategy and instead demonstrate indecisiveness and sluggishness, then other forces will inevitably appear which will be able to use the errors of the party to attract the youth to themselves. The congress charges the CPSU Central Committee with creating a Central Committee commission on questions of the party's youth policy.

3. The CPSU Congress advocates the formation by the state of effective social, economic, and legal mechanisms for developing and implementing a youth policy at all levels, taking into account regional and ethnic character: From the rural and settlement soviet to the USSR Supreme Soviet and USSR Council of Ministers. It also advocates forming structures in the organs of legislative and executive power which occupy themselves with youth problems. It is important during the development and implementation of the youth policy that young people themselves take an active part, but at the same time state obligations with regard to the younger generation should not be placed upon the VLKSM or other youth organizations.

The congress advocates the necessity for the expeditious adoption of a USSR law and laws of the Union republics on general principles of the state's youth policy, it advocates the development of norms and social indices with respect to young people, and it advocates the implementation of the tasks of youth policy in annual and long-term state plans for the social and economic development of the country and in the socioeconomic plans of the regions and labor collectives.

The CPSU Congress calls on people's deputies, communists, and workers in state and economic organs and in public organizations to assist in every possible way in the implementation of the state's youth policy and to ensure that efforts toward this end are comprehensive, that they are given priority, that they open broad career and life opportunities for the youth, and that they improve the social position of the youth.

4. The congress approves the Komsomol's initiative to create a system for social aid to the youth and believes that it may become a constituent part of a developed public and state social service. The delegates to the congress support the youth's demand that formation and implementation of the following national and regional programs be expedited: Spiritual and physical development of the younger generation; maintenance and protection of children's rights; youth employment and training for work; social rehabilitation of young invalids; expansion of the production of goods and services for children and young people; housing construction responsive to the requirements of young people; support for young families; the search for and development of young talent; development of international youth links; formation of relations of good will and cooperation with the youth of other countries; and the development of youth enterprise. These programs should be specially financed from the funds of Union and local budgets.

Society is called upon to help young people at the start of their lives and under conditions of the transition to a market economy and to create the appropriate legal guarantees for this. The state must render youth organizations material support and grant economic privileges to enterprises that create employment positions for young people or direct part of their profits to the construction and maintenance of social and cultural facilities. Young citizens and young families should enjoy benefits and preferential credits for the solution of their housing problems and modern professional training and education, including training and education abroad.

The congress delegates consider it necessary to create a youth fund under the USSR president and to implement presidential youth programs in the most important directions.

5. The CPSU sees the VLKSM as its political ally and assistant and as an organization that is ideologically

close to the party preparing the younger generation to take upon itself responsibility for the future of the country.

The delegates of the CPSU Congress support the wish of the VLKSM, confirmed by its 21st congress, to make it a goal of the Komsomol to take part in the formation of a humane, democratic socialism; to rally the youth movement together on the basis of the ideas of perestroyka; to act in alliance with organizations of socialist choice; and to develop a dialogue and cooperation with all democratic movements and organizations.

The CPSU will help the Komsomol to become a full and authoritative participant in the political process, broaden the Komsomol's rights and opportunities in the administration of the affairs of society, and construct its relations with the Komsomol as with a communist organization of Soviet youth on the basis of comradely cooperation and interaction. It is interested in the Komsomol's direct participation in the elaboration and implementation of the party's own policy. The comprehensive strengthening of ideological and organizational ties between party and Komsomol organizations should become a source of the mutual enrichment of our organizations. Party organizations are called upon to include Komsomol activists and young communists more boldly in party life and to use the radicalism, energy, and initiative inherent in them more fully for raising the fighting efficiency and authority of the party and for strengthening its ties with the Komsomol and all young people.

The CPSU Congress backs the practical steps of the Komsomol directed at the organizational and political renewal of the Union and at the creation of conditions for its own self-development and for the improvement of forms and methods of work responsive to the particular traits and attitudes of young people. Only an organizationally independent, mass, democratic, and open sociopolitical organization of youth in which young communists actively work can be a full-fledged reserve for the CPSU.

The party will render the VLKSM the necessary help in training and retraining cadres, strengthening and developing a material base for a union of young people, publishing newspapers and journals, and utilizing the mass media, and it will provide the lodgings belonging to it for work with young men and women. It is expedient to organize the publication of party newspapers and journals intended for different strata of youth.

The congress recommends that the Central Committees of the Union republic Communist Parties help their Komsomol organizations define themselves ideologically and organizationally under the complex conditions of the present development of a Soviet federation.

The CPSU advocates democratization of the children's movement and supports the need for renewal of the All-Union Pioneer Organization imeni V.I. Lenin, which should become an organization of children and adolescents truly helping the development of their personality, providing access to social creativity, and forming a citizen of the socialist fatherland. The party and the Komsomol are called upon to defend the interests of the children's communist organization in the organs of state power and to concern itself with strengthening and developing the material base for work with children.

The congress charges the CPSU Central Committee with examining the problems of work with young people at a joint plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the VLKSM Central Committee.

At this complex turning point in the history of the fatherland, the CPSU is firmly counting upon all that is creative, alive, and progressive in our party and people to receive the active support of Soviet youth and the Leninist Komsomol.

Draft of the VLKSM Central Committee

The 28th CPSU Congress notes that the range and pace of social reforms and the fate of the Communist Party depend to a significant degree on the position of the youth. Their social self-awareness has a substantial effect on the political situation in the country. Therefore the success of the reform programs of the CPSU will depend in many ways on the effectiveness of its youth policy.

The congress believes that the youth policy should be implemented with the participation of the party in the design and realization of the state's youth policy as well as by direct activities of the CPSU aimed at young people through the use of its own political, organizational, and material potential.

I. Participation of the CPSU in the Implementation of a State Youth Policy

Toward this end the congress advocates:

the formation by the state of effective social, economic, and legal mechanisms for designing and implementing youth policy at all levels, from rural and settlement soviets to the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Central Committee;

the formation of structures in the organs of legal and executive power which occupy themselves with the problems of youth;

the speedy adoption of a USSR law and laws of the Union republics on general principles of the state's youth policy, development of norms and social indices concerning the youth, and the inclusion of special youth sections in all-Union and regional socioeconomic programs;

the formation and implementation of the following national and regional programs: Spiritual and physical development of the younger generation; maintenance and protection of children's rights; youth employment and training for work; social rehabilitation of young invalids; expansion of the production of goods and services for children and young people; housing construction responsive to the requirements of young people; support for young families; the search for and development of young talent; development of international youth links; formation of relations of good will and cooperation with the youth of other countries; development of youth enterprise; and the financing of these programs from special funds of Union and local budgets;

the creation of legal guarantees of social protection for young people under conditions of the transition to a market economy and, most importantly, the granting of economic privileges to enterprises that create employment positions for young people or direct part of their profits to the construction and maintenance of social and cultural facilities;

the formation of a system of benefits and preferential credits to youths and young families with the goal of solving their housing problems and conducting modern, professional training and education, including training and education abroad.

THE CONGRESS CHARGES THE USSR PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES OF THE CPSU WITH SECURING THE ADOPTION AT THE FOURTH SESSION OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR LAW "ON GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF THE STATE'S YOUTH POLICY."

THE CONGRESS CONSIDERS IT ADVISABLE TO CREATE A YOUTH FUND UNDER THE USSR PRESIDENT AND TO CHARGE THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE WITH TAKING PART IN THE PARTIAL FINANCING OF THIS FUND.

II. Direct Actions of the CPSU Intended for Young People

The congress believes that the principle of complete trust in the younger generation must be at the basis of such actions. The CPSU advocates a broad dialogue with young people, will cooperate with the VLKSM and with all youth organizations and movements of socialist choice, and intends to support youth associations oriented toward the consolidation of public forces in the name of the real achievement of the goals of perestroyka.

The congress believes that the party should enlist the intellect of the new generation in the elaboration and implementation of its programs, help young people become involved in political activities, and create the conditions for the incorporation of young people into all spheres of public and state life.

THE CONGRESS CHARGES THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE WITH ELABORATING MEASURES TO USE THE MATERIAL BASE AND TRAINING INSTITUTIONS OF THE PARTY FOR THE FORMATION OF NEW YOUNG POLITICAL LEADERS, YOUNG EMPLOYERS, AND A SCIENTIFIC AND CREATIVE INTELLIGENTSIA.

The congress advocates the creation of a CPSU Central Committee commission on questions of the party's youth policy.

III. The CPSU and the VLKSM

The CPSU sees the VLKSM as its political ally and as an organization that is ideologically close to the party and able to help it in the implementation of its reform programs.

The congress supports the wish of the VLKSM to assist in the creation of a society of humane democratic socialism, to act in alliance with youth organizations of socialist choice, and to develop a dialogue with all democratic movements.

The CPSU will construct its relations with the Komsomol as with an independent sociopolitical organization on the basis of comradely cooperation and interaction. The party is interested in the VLKSM's direct participation in the elaboration and implementation of the party's own policy.

The CPSU congress supports the practical steps of the Komsomol directed at the organizational and political renewal of the Union and at the creation of conditions for its own self-development and for the improvement of forms and methods of work responsive to the particular traits and attitudes of young people. Only from an independent, democratic, pluralistic, and open organization expressing and defending the interests of young people can the CPSU draw forces for its own renewal.

The party will render the VLKSM the necessary material support in the implementation of its programs directed at the realization of the interests of the younger generation. THE CONGRESS SUPPORTS THE INITIATIVE OF THE KOMSOMOL IN CREATING A PUBLIC AND STATE SYSTEM OF SOCIAL AID FOR YOUNG PEOPLE AND CHARGES THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE WITH TAKING PART IN ITS FINANCING.

The CPSU advocates democratization of the children's movement and supports the need for renewal of the All-Union Pioneer Organization imeni V.I. Lenin, which should become an organization truly helping the development of personality and providing access for children and adolescents to social creativity. The party will defend the interests of the Pioneer Organization in the organs of state power and will concern itself with strengthening and developing the organization's material base.

AT THIS COMPLEX TURNING POINT IN THE HISTORY OF THE FATHERLAND, THE CPSU IS FIRMLY COUNTING ON ALL THAT IS CREATIVE, ALIVE, AND PROGRESSIVE IN OUR PARTY AND

PEOPLE TO RECEIVE THE ACTIVE SUPPORT OF SOVIET YOUTH AND THE KOMSOMOL.

The draft resolution which is currently being developed by delegates to the 28th congress is temporary and only for the interim. But much depends on how it turns out. And you, our readers, can also take part in this important matter. There is only one day before the resolution is to be adopted. Therefore send your proposals by telegraph addressed to the secretary of the congress or to us at the editorial board. Our teletype number has not changed: 111551 KOMPR.

Volkogonov on Lenin, Trotskiy, Revolution

90UN2352A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
11 Jul 90 p 3

[Interview with Colonel General D.A. Volkogonov, RSFSR people's deputy, by IZVESTIYA commentator I. Prelovskaya; date and place not specified: "You Cannot Take Revenge on History, You Have to Understand It"]

[Text] **One meets a lot of people in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses who wear the deputy's badge next to the congress member's one. Colonel General Dmitriy Antonovich Volkogonov, doctor of philosophy and RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] people's deputy, is one of those who combined their work at the Russian Congress of People's Deputies and the Constituent Congress of the Russian Communist Party. Now he is also taking part in the 28th CPSU Congress and the session of Russia's Supreme Soviet. This is how condensed the schedule of political life is in our country for everybody active in it. D. Volkogonov was interviewed by IZVESTIYA commentator I. Prelovskaya.**

[Prelovskaya] Dmitriy Antonovich, all of us were looking forward to the party congress and from its first day one could feel that the people wanted to see everybody's clear position as the antagonism between forces and ideological trends has become evident and open. What is of a special concern for you now, a person who spent a long time in the party?

[Volkogonov] Many people habitually expect that our fate will be decided in the Palace of Congresses. But our future is now being determined primarily in our parliament. And it is for the congress to find the ways to save the party. If the party does not switch decisively onto the tracks of the democratic centralism, if it does not reform itself, it might go the way of the Communist Parties of East Europe. It is difficult to talk about this, but we need to find the courage to face the truth—all the more so because we do have an opportunity to escape the worst. But we cannot procrastinate with the renewal. And now I feel a certain apprehension that the congress might shift to the right of the center and that would be dangerous for the party. However, I hope that the situation will get better.

[Prelovskaya] When they adopted the declaration proclaiming the status of Russia as that of a sovereign state within the Union and giving dominance to Russia's laws over Union laws on the territory of the republic it denoted a breach in the traditional structure of the relations between Russia and the center. We are expecting that a new Union agreement will be signed. But one encounters certain apprehensions: Can it emerge that Russia will position itself "above the center"? And when we learn that the rights of the autonomies are given preference over those common for all the republics, we start wondering if all this will lead to territorial isolation. Speaking of this, there was a separate group at the congress working on ethnic relations.

[Volkogonov] For many years Russia was considered a donor, the supply center of the country. The center issued forceful and unrestrained orders as to how to use its territory and its resources; they were redistributed and redirected according to the whims of the center. When you look at the figures illustrating the quality of Russians' lives you learn that they are worse than those of the people of some other republics. Our Russian "colonialists" did not get rich at the expense of others. Nor did the Russians preserve their environment, except maybe for the enormous struggle they had to put up to fight off the barbaric idea of turning back their rivers. Russia was used primarily to prop up the monopolism of ministries and other Union agencies. But imagine if Russia and other republics decide to cut their expenses for the upkeep of the bureaucracy: Then they will have to cut back their ranks in reality! The dominance of the center also made the republics and autonomies, vastly different in their structures, obey similar orders. The top of the bureaucratic tree has grown so thick that it is now our imminent need to free ourselves from its burden.

As for its rights, the republic will yield some of its power to the center by mutual consent; some of the rights would come under combined jurisdiction, but most the republic will probably keep for itself. In my view, such a voluntary transfer of certain rights should strengthen rather than weaken the ties between the republic and the center. I want to emphasize that any union needs a center whether it is a federation, a confederacy, or a commonwealth, whether the center is a ruling or a coordinating one. This is the reason why a balanced and calm revision of mutual obligations acquires great importance, and the same can be said about drafting the new Union agreement which, unfortunately, we keep delaying. Neither the center nor the republics gain from a confrontation which leads to conflicts. Wisdom should have conquered emotions. We need to preserve the Union and to preserve ourselves as a great country.

I would not pick on separate words, phrases, and intonations heard in the speeches of one or another leader. Certain things surfaced that were born in the heat of rallies, that were not balanced fully due to lack of time. Let us hope that none of this has come to stay. Sparks like this should not be fanned from outside. And we have already been made hopeful by the first meeting of the Council of the Federation and by the open and constructive position taken there by the president.

[Prelovskaya] Don't we see that certain tendencies are artificially fed as they lead to ethnic stratification and isolation? I say artificially because, according to Russian statistics, the indigenous ethnic groups are in the majority only in six out of 16 autonomous republics of the RSFSR. And state sovereignty is the one thing they desire more and more. But if these centrifugal forces start developing, how will the nonnatives feel in the autonomies? Will they live in fear of being driven out? Some people might say these are tactless questions. But when we start talking about the lives of millions of people it is not the time to leave things unsaid....

[Volkogonov] I do not think it is only a problem of tact, it is also a problem of complexity. We have 60 million people living in republics where they do not belong to the native ethnic group. There are more than 27 million of them in Russia, over 14 million in the Ukraine, and about 10 million in Kazakhstan. And, as is the case in almost all multiethnic countries, ethnic borders are not even close to the administrative ones. Thus any division carried out according solely to the ethnic principle, especially if done in excess, causes painful reactions. Let us think, by the way, how it is that Russia avoided assimilating ethnic groups which lived side by side with Russians in one state? How it is that they preserved a good relationship with them for centuries? You see a lot more often in history that large nations subdue and absorb smaller ones. Let us remember the past: The Kingdom of Poland had its sejm, the Grand Duchy of Finland had its parliament. In the 18th century some 50 thousand German settlers moved to the Volga and by the turn of the 20th century numbered over a million. They were wealthy; they preserved their language, customs, and religious beliefs; and nobody persecuted them until Stalin's deportation time. Nobody imposed Slavic script on the Oriental nations, nobody tried to make crop-farmers out of cattle-breeders, nobody tried to intrude on traditional customs. We have to admit that the state power was flexible and broad-minded in managing the lives of ethnic groups. And after the October revolution we on one hand established universities, publishing houses, academies, and film studios in the republics; but on the other hand, unfortunately, we tried to erase the ethnic uniqueness of people's lives.

At one time the Bolsheviks defended the right of nations to self-determination, even to secession, and they rejected the principle of cultural autonomy. Later the right to real self-determination was reduced to an empty declaration. The idea of cultural autonomy also got buried, even though it is being successfully realized in the modern world. It is not every ethnic group that acquires independent statehood but all of them need to develop their ethnicity freely. We have over a hundred ethnic groups living in Russia alone. But can administrative border-setting make those borders realistic? As a historian I can say that any division of the Union or of Russia would do no good to either Russia or the world. It would bring trouble to all ethnic groups. Sovereignty means primarily the people's ability to decide their own fate and to do so while bearing their neighbors' and their own mutual interests in mind. That is the main idea.

[Prelovskaya] As we are searching for someone to blame we make some dangerous substitutions. And it is especially upsetting that our intelligentsia is participating in the process, as they are the people who should combine intellect with moral responsibility. Here is a recent example: NASH SOVREMENNIK published in one of its recent issues some tragic documents dealing with the history of the Russian church at the time of the civil war. Truth and justice are being restored. But then you get a surprise as you read the commentary written by a well-known and quite gifted critic. He claims that Tvardovskiy's NOVY MIR initiated the antireligious criticism in the 60's. It is true that the critic had to separate the social and political articles from the literary works—those by Solzhenitsyn, Belov, Zalygin, etc. It was from the articles that he extracted atheistic quotations while emphasizing the non-Russian names of their authors. But it was at about the same time that Efim Yakovlevich Dorosh from NOVY MIR became one of the first to describe anew the old Russian monasteries as centers of enlightenment and culture. He wrote about leaders of spiritual armies Sergiy of Radonezh and Stefaniy of Perm. But in this case the critic became forgetful. Are there any reasons to look for Russophobia among our revolutionary figures?

[Volkogonov] Unfortunately, we have been trained to see somebody's hand in everything that turned out "wrong." Some people blame freemasons for everything, others the entire party machine without exception. To me it seems an atavistic feature of the past.

The Russian revolutionary movement actually had a number of Jews and Poles among the Socialist Revolutionaries, the Mensheviks, and the most radical—the Bolsheviks. But let us remember the pale of settlement and the limits on education for young people adhering to Judaism. However it is dangerous, incorrect, and provocative to look for the clues to our historic defeat in the ethnic sphere.

As for the cruelty of actions, both the Red and the White displayed it. It is just that we used to dwell one-sidedly on the White terror in the past as now we dwell on the Red terror. But we should remember that civil wars were always the most ruthless ones. A well-known historian, Yuriy Polyakov, estimated that our civil war killed 13 million people. Most died of typhoid and hunger. At present I am finishing a book about Trotskiy, who was person number two after Lenin in the Communist Party at the time of the civil war. An unusual personality, he was a fanatic when it concerned the idea of world revolution. He could and did sacrifice anything at its altar, whatever ethnic group it involved. He was a lightning rod of a person, a flare of a person; unlike Stalin, he was a man of intellect and erudition, but he considered terror an indispensable weapon of the revolution. Revolutionary extremism was typical of this entire group of people whatever their ethnic background—they were all Jacobins. Later, during the 30's, almost all of the Jews and Latvians in high positions were removed, but were Ezhov and his cohorts more humane than Yagoda? It terrifies one to imagine what could have happened had the fire of world revolution spread and if it were headed by those who had been instigating it. And that idea was not entirely impossible. China, Hungary, Germany—the fire was already burning.

[Prelovskaya] Now we are talking more and more about reviving the traditions of the intelligentsia. It seems that respect for the intelligentsia is finally coming back. Thank God we finally realized how much we need competent people. The only thing is that we still display just as much intolerance and impatience as before. Can this be traditional?

[Volkogonov] Recently "The Sources and the Meaning of the Russian Communism," a book by Nikolay Berdyayev, was published in our country. He was a man able to think profoundly; he possessed a talent, unusual for us, to be critical of his own people while remaining strongly attached to his fatherland. He wrote: "The entire history of the Russian intelligentsia served to make communism possible. Communism embraced features familiar to us: a thirst for social justice and equality, recognition of the working classes as the highest type of human beings, an aversion to capitalism and the bourgeoisie, a quest for complete understanding of the world and for an integral attitude to life, a sectarian intolerance, a suspicious and hostile attitude toward the cultural elite...endowing materialism with a character almost theological." You can see that this is a multifaceted description. Berdyayev found all these features in the midst of the Russian revolutionary and even simply radical intelligentsia. He also noted the change in their psychology—the motifs of their love for the truth and for compassion, of their feeling of guilt before the people and their desire to serve those people devotedly was replaced by the motifs of force and severity, still for the good of the same people.

We all went and are still going through a difficult period of reappraising our values. I remember my own emotions when I started to write a book about Stalin and I had to read certain documents. I was one of the first historians to gain access to those documents. This was an agonizing, eye-opening process even after what we had already learned. We cannot now blame the entire party for the outrages of the totalitarian regime. People who want all party members answer for those outrages forget when we were led by extremism once before. We cannot allow it to spread either to the right or to the left.

The hallowed selflessness of the Russian intelligentsia raised our spiritual culture at some point in the past to the highest peaks of the human spirit. But their impatience made them believe in Utopia being realistically close. To make it real they resorted to violence; they were intolerant of any counterreasoning, they did not wish to take the Russian reality into account, and all that cost a great deal to the people they loved so dearly. And it is true that we still have more than enough intolerance and impatience. The lessons of history do not prescribe anything, they only serve as a warning to us, but we still have to consider them again and again.

[Prelovskaya] More and more often now people remember that there were opportunities to escape totalitarianism in our history.

[Volkogonov] We say that the Bolsheviks won a victory in the revolution. But it would have been more correct to say the Bolsheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries, two socialist parties. Lenin made a smart move when he invited the Left Socialist Revolutionaries to be in the government. The Bolsheviks were the party of the workers, and the Socialist Revolutionaries that of the peasants. They could have criticized each other while trying to marry the interests of their parties and no Stalin would have become a dictator. But both parties missed this historical opportunity. The Left Socialist Revolutionaries did not accept the Brest Peace Treaty, and some of them became involved in a token uprising unsupported by the people. Even some of their own leaders did not support it. But the Bolsheviks responded with bans and tribunals, and the opportunity was lost.

The word "compromiser" became derogatory with us from the very beginning even though politics, as the art of the possible, is in fact the art of compromise. If we fail to understand this now as true for both international and domestic politics, we can lose a lot. Democracy works only if it is accompanied by two partners—respect for the law and an enhanced political and moral culture. But we have been silent for so long that now we all try to holler louder than the next person. It was the same way at our congress. One after another people would jump up and rush to the microphone; without thinking first what they were talking about, they would make the most categorical statements.

[Prelovskaya] At difficult times people fall back to primary problems. The main of them is—what can unite us today?

[Volkogonov] We need unification rather than unity, if we see the latter as single-mindedness. We spent 70 years trying to achieve such a unity, and now we are at an impasse. To move on we need a variety of thought directed at constructive decisions, unification, and accord rather than at a split society. But it is only possible to become consolidated when the main goal—concern for the people's well-being—supersedes the goals of various groups.

Our society is being democratized, though it is not happening as fast as some people would like. Some people think, however, that the president could have moved to the left more decisively before, but they do not comprehend how complicated the situation is. Had he done so he would have split the country deeply and that would have ended badly. But now the moment has come when he is expected to behave with more determination. And he made his choice when he became a reformer and set his course toward the market economy, toward democracy and pluralism.

Many people had their doubts about Yeltsin. They wondered if he could avoid measures demonstrating attachment to his old bloc after he assumed the leadership of the Russian parliament. I have to admit that he was able to rise above his leanings; this was also evident when they were discussing the number of parliament members and the nominations for the highest positions in the republic. I think that our parliament did the right thing when they created conciliation commissions for controversial problems. A similar form of searching for compromises was used, by the way, in the Russian Duma: They had the Council of Elders made up of rather influential deputies. We are gradually mastering the art of communication also. The democratization of our life made it obvious that all of us need to learn this art, and that includes experts with all kinds of diplomas and scientific degrees. This shortcoming has its roots in the very basics of our upbringing. What can you do, the totalitarian regime was not conducive to enlightening the intelligentsia. They were replaced by specialists.

[Prelovskaya] In your opinion, what is the way to make the extremes agree?

[Volkogonov] There are fundamental values, and they can unite society even when parties and opinions vary. There are rival parties in England and the United States, but they do not resort to violence. They have an established political culture and unifying ideals. In the United States it is primarily the ideal of freedom. What an attractive ideal! For a long time we tried to convince ourselves that nobody but us has exalted ideals, that others lead a pragmatic existence. But a society cannot unite without ideals. It is my personal opinion that socialism has a future in spite of its recent defeat. And it has a future because it is a vigorous and noble idea. Unfortunately, we chose the wrong course to arrive at "our" socialism, and under Stalin it became a criminal course. But faulty ways do not mean that the idea is at fault. We can bring back its prestige through realistic achievements in our life of hardness rather than through slogans or decisions.

New parties are sprouting up; they disagree in their evaluation of various events and of ways to resolve the current problems. But all of them wish to improve the material well-being of the people. Many of them want to widen the range of democratic freedoms. That means we have the grounds for alliances. The rule of the people is based on political pluralism.

I want to start writing a book about Lenin now. I want to describe him as a great revolutionary who never was God. He suffered, he made mistakes, he was tortured, he was human. Recently they celebrated the bicentennial of the French revolution. Mounds of books have been written about it. The French were not afraid of any truth about the event—the truth about its feuds, its guillotines, its atrocities, its tragedies. But this revolution moved mankind forward toward the ideas of equality and brotherhood. The October revolution also changed the world in many respects and engendered the concern for the social protection of the people. We cannot take vengeance on history, and it is just as wrong to laugh at it. It should be understood.

We have a busy time now, and the more people give up their wait-and-see attitude, the easier it will be to use our current historic opportunity—if each of us would do just a little bit more than his usual norm is! Today and tomorrow, in things large and small. The present is never over and the future has always been started.

Joint Meeting Approves Soviet Germans' Congress

LD3007203590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 30 Jul 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A joint session of the Commission for Nationalities Policy and Interethnic Relations of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities and the State Commission for problems of Soviet Germans has been held. At the session, it was seen as advisable to hold a congress of Soviet Germans this year in order to form an all-Union association of Soviet Germans and shape its governing bodies.

Comrades Nishanov, Revenko, Girenko, and Tarazevich took part in the session.

[Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1800 GMT on 30 July, in a similar report, adds the following: "An Organization Committee was approved to prepare and conduct the congress. Academician Raushenbakh was elected chairman of the Organization Committee."]

Soviet Kurds Hold Rally To Press for Autonomy

PM2707154990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Jul 90 Second Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent Captain Third Rank V. Yermolin under the rubric "Direct Line": "Rally of Soviet Kurds"]

[Text] Moscow—A rally took place in Luzhniki Tuesday [24 July] following an appeal by the All-Kurdish Committee "Yakbun" ("Unity"). The chief topic was the fate of Kurdish refugees.

Some 18,000 refugees from Armenia and 2,000 from Uzbekistan have now gathered in Krasnodar Kray, waiting for their fate to be decided. Kurds living in Osh Oblast and also in a number of oblasts of Kazakhstan are also leaving their homes. The reason is, unfortunately, already common for our times—a wild outburst of local nationalism.

As was pointed out at the rally, the roots of the people's present misadventures lie in events that happened 60 years ago. After 1929, when Red Kurdistan—the Kurdish Autonomous Okrug (situated on the territory of Azerbaijan, prior to the revolution it featured on the map of the empire as Kurdistan Uyezd)—was abolished, tens of thousands of Muslim Kurds were deported to rayons in Kazakhstan and Central Asia.

"We realize that not only Kurds but also people of other nationalities now live in the land of our forebears," K. Mustafayev, vice president of the recently created Association of Soviet Kurds, said at the rally, "so it is not a question of Kurds carrying out a mass settlement of the territory of former Kurdistan. But historical justice must be restored, which means that Kurdish autonomy must also be restored."

The rally participants adopted a decision to send a letter to the USSR president. In the letter they ask for a place of compact residence to be set aside for Kurdish refugees in southern rayons of Russia by way of an urgent measure.

Gorbachev's Political 'Evolution' Considered

LD2807222590 Leningrad Maritime Press Service in Russian 1400 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Commentary by APN Political Observer Vyacheslav Kostitov and editor Salnikov: "Gorbachev Will Not Be His Former Self After the Congress]

[Excerpts] Despite the sharp, often aggressive criticism to which Gorbachev was subjected at the 28th CPSU Congress, it is logical that he has remained leader of the party. Actually, his repeated election to the top party post was, as the saying goes, preordained. [passage omitted]

So, the same Kremlin and the same regalia and attributes of power await Gorbachev. And yet it will no longer be the same person. It is not a question of the new gray patches and wrinkles which have appeared during the congress, which was exceedingly difficult for him. It seems to me that the 28th congress has changed Gorbachev from inside.

In contrast to the leaders who preceded him, who preferred their customary words from the Marxist lexicon for political and social phenomena, Gorbachev likes the word fate and frequently uses it. This is not fortuitous. Having tied his fate to the fate of perestroyka, he is doomed to share its fruits and shocks. One such shock for him was the 28th CPSU Congress.

At the congress, Gorbachev did not complain or go around in sackcloth and ashes. He fought to turn the people's opinion, which had seemed to be slipping hopelessly away from him, in his favor. On the other hand, Khrushchev compliantly acquiesced at the conservatives' first attempt to divest him of power. Taking on board Khrushchev's lessons, Brezhnev completely submitted himself to the authority of the apparat. Gorbachev fought to the end to conquer. [passage omitted]

The victory was not gained easily. People who saw Gorbachev at close hand during those days drew attention to his extreme fatique. I think that the few days of the congress have cost him several years of his life. As far as political experience is concerned, the congress, I think, should be equated with the whole five years of perestroyka.

There is no doubt that during the time since March 1985, when M.S. Gorbachev was elected general secretary, the Soviet leader has undergone a great evolution. His ideas, speeches, views, place in the power system, and value priorities have changed. A product of the nomenklatura, having made his career within the complex system of party corridors, he became the first president of the country undergoing renovation. But, despite the whole evolution of views, the system with which he entered into conflict has continued to live within him. Like a Chekhovian intellectual, he has been squeezing it out of himself in drops, changing visibly, and yet remaining a man of the system.

The lessons drawn by Gorbachev will make up for the "political" bruises he came in for at the 28th CPSU Congress. These lessons should [passage indistinct]. One of the lessons consists of the fact that in moving towards democracy one cannot rely on the conservatives. Only democratic forces, even inconvenient ones, can support democracy.

The second and perhaps most important lesson consists in the fact that at dangerous, fateful—as Gorbachev likes to say—turning points in history, one must not try to put oneself over the people. The people must be told the whole truth, however harsh it may be. (?This was the source) of many of Gorbachev's difficulties at the congress and the reason for misunderstanding between him and a section of the population—the dosaging of truth which has dragged on and Gorbachev's own retrospective glances at the dogmas and stylistics of former years.

Free Enterprise Group Holds First Meeting

LD2707145590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 27 Jul 90

[Text] The first session of the council of the all-Union confederation of the trade unions of employees of cooperatives and enterprises and other forms of free enterprises has been held in Moscow. Thirteen republican trade union formations, 11 permanent members and two in the form of observers—Latvia and Azerbaijan—make up the confederation. (Edvin Lerner) has been elected president of this organization. Thus, the formation of a new trade union structure has been completed.

Patriarch Aleksiy Holds Press Conference

90UN2212A Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jun 90 p 3

[Article by V. Gronskiy: "The Patriarch of All Russia Is in Leningrad: To Increase Kindness"]

[Text] Holy Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia Aleksiy, the new head of the Russian Orthodox Church, held a press conference for Leningrad and central mass media journalists yesterday at the Leningrad Hotel in Leningrad.

His Holiness stressed that, in his new high post, he also intends to continue the kind tradition of mutually beneficial cooperation with the Soviet press that developed during his stay in Leningrad.

The patriarch dwelled in detail on the significant changes in the life of the church and its increased role in society which became possible thanks to the processes of perestroyka and democratization. The logical continuation of these processes is adoption of the Law on Freedom of Conscience which he is helping to develop as a USSR People's Deputy.

"This law not only grants the church the status of a juridical person," the patriarch said, "but it will open the range for mercy, philanthropy, and education of various groups of the population, including children, in the spirit of high morality and kindness. The first steps in this direction have already been made: Sunday schools are opening near churches where not only children but their parents are studying. A gerontological hospital will soon open in Leningrad with the cooperation and assistance of the Church of Greater Seattle. A foundation has been laid for a church in a prison colony in Metallostroy and so forth. But everything is not as simple as we would like. The problem is that over the decades even believers have gotten out of the habit of performing good deeds. Faith without action is dead, it must necessarily be reinforced by good works. We must resurrect the institution of sisters of mercy since the technical meaning is present in the word collocation 'medical sister' itself but unfortunately the spiritual [meaning] has been lost."

While speaking about the peacemaking role of the Russian Orthodox Church in the international arena, His Holiness particularly noted the need for the active participation of believers in peacemaking inside the country and the elimination of interethnic discord and conflicts.

"We are obliged to call on people to be patient, to be mutually understanding, and to cooperate. Our goal is to increase kindness; the shortage of which we very keenly feel."

While answering questions, Patriarch Aleksiy talked about his recent meeting with M.S. Gorbachev, the church's problems in western areas of the Ukraine, and the complicated interrelationship with the Russian Overseas Church whose resolution requires reason and good will of all interested parties. He told journalists about the prospect of restoring destroyed churches and monasteries, the majority of which are monuments of architecture, particularly Valaam Monastery, which has been restored with the assistance of believers from Finland.

"I will remember my time of service in Leningrad as a bright page in my life," His Holiness said in conclusion. "Active spiritual contact with this city and with Leningrad residents will continue henceforth."

Journalists warmly congratulated the patriarch on his selection as head of the Russian Orthodox Church and wished him success in his difficult work for the good of the people and the homeland.

Presides Over Public Service

90UN2212B Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jun 90 p 3

[Article attributed to LenTASS (Leningrad Branch of the News Agency of the Soviet Union)]

[Text] Yesterday, near the walls of the active Iannovskiy Convent, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia Aleksiy II with a large gathering of the highest church hierarchy presided over a solemn church service for the famous Petersburg preacher Ioann Kronshtadtskiy (1829-1908) who several days ago was added to the assembly of saints by a Russian Orthodox Church council.

Father Ioann (known in the temporal world as Ivan Ilyich Sergiyev) was born in Arkhangelsk Province. After his graduation from Petersburg Spiritual Academy, he was assigned as archpriest of Andreyevskiy Church in Kronshtadt. His fiery sermons in defense of morality, his amazing capabilities for healing, and astonishing unselfishness won him praise among the people while he was still alive. After his death, Ioann Kronshtadtskiy was buried in a crypt of the Ioannovskiy Convent.

While addressing the believers, Aleksiy talked about the endless mercy of those who for many years have had a reputation as Black Hundreds and obscurantists in our country. In his sermon, the new patriarch also dwelled on the role of the Orthodox Church in the country's social life. In his opinion, the church must appeal to parishioners for mutual understanding and cooperation and the escalation of interethnic and inter-religious conflicts must be prevented.

New Magazine on Life in Large Cities

LD2607133690 Moscow TASS in English 1301 GMT 26 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondents Vyacheslav Akimov and Oleg Polovko]

[Text] Moscow July 26 TASS—Yevgeni Bystrov, editor-in-chief of the new international magazine MEGAPOLIS, said that the new magazine will seek to facilitate the exchange of information among capital cities on all aspects of their life.

The magazine's launching ceremony was held at Moscow's World Trade Centre on Wednesday evening. MEGAPOLIS will be published by the Moscow City

Soviet, the NOVOSTI Press Agency and TASS under the auspices of the International Institute for Management Problems.

The magazine will examine the economic, social, cultural and urban development of Moscow and other capitals.

MEGAPOLIS aims to help reform and develop the Moscow economic scene and social infrastructure, to participate in international programmes and to attract backing from Soviet and foreign organisations for joint projects.

MEGAPOLIS is published jointly with the West German firm Pro Publik. It will come out quarterly during the first year with a total circulation of 200,000 copies (100,000 copies in Russian and 100,000 copies in English).

It is planned to publish it in French, German and Spanish in the future.

West German co-publisher of the magazine Bernd Schaeffers told TASS that MEGAPOLIS gives Western readers a chance to participate in discussions about problems in capital cities and to help solve them.

Long-term cooperation with the Soviet side in this sphere is planned, he noted.

Procuracy on Responsibility for Food Quality

LD2507141790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Text] In the Procuracy of the USSR: Today the collegium of the Procuracy of the USSR examined the question of implementing legislation on responsibility for production of substandard food produce. It was noted that the number of cases of food poisoning in the country is not declining. This is mainly caused by the poor quality of food products and non-observance of technical health requirements. Nearly half of all bacteriological poisoning occurs in the systems of the Ministry of Trade and Union of Consumer Cooperatives of the USSR. Over the past year 9,000 persons were cautioned and held liable in various ways, and 54 criminal cases were instituted.

Having heard the explanations of heads and officials of the Ministry of Trade, the State Committee for Education, and the Union of Consumer Cooperatives of the USSR, the collegium decided to make representation to the heads of these departments and raise the question of strict responsibility of those guilty and removal of the noted shortcomings. It was also decided to inform the USSR Council of Ministers on the need to draft a comprehensive state program for preventing production of substandard food produce and stepping up checks on its implementation.

Economics

IZVESTIYA Reviews Economic Development

PM3007124390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Unattributed article under the "Statistics and Our Commentary" rubric: "Still in a State of Stagnation. Our Performance During the First Six Months"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Prices for clothing, leather footwear, hosiery, synthetic detergents, printed materials, clocks, and watches increased by five to eight percent, this being due to the wider application of contractual and provisional prices or the setting of higher prices for so-called new products which, in terms of quality, do not differ from those previously produced at lower prices. There was a four percent increase in the prices of textiles, knitwear, perfumery goods and cosmetics, haberdashery products, metal kitchenware, and furniture; as well as a three percent increase in the prices of sports and radio goods, carpets and rugs, glassware, and construction materials. There was a centrally imposed increase of approximately 50 percent on the prices of jewelry.

State prices for most foodstuffs were unchanged, specifically those for fats, fish products, dairy products, eggs, sugar, groats, pasta products, bread, bakery products, and others. At the same time there were marked increases in the prices of potatoes (10 percent), vegetables (nine percent), and fruit (14 percent). The prices index for foodstuffs as a whole stood at 101 percent. The more complex situation regarding food supplies to the population caused a further growth of kolkhoz [collective farm] market prices—by 18 percent compared with the corresponding period last year.

The shadow of unemployment looms as we approach the market economy. The country's labor resources at 1 July 1990 exceeded 164 million people. Some 136.6 million people were employed in all spheres of activity. The number of able-bodied people of working age not employed in the national economy and not engaged in studies exceeds 8 million (people out of work due to the seasonal nature of labor or change of employment, Group III disabled persons out of work, people engaged in household tasks, and persons evading socially beneficial labor). The employment problems remains most acute in the Central Asian republics, the Transcaucasus, North Caucasus, and the Kazakh SSR. [passage omitted]

The trends that prevailed last year—increased gas extraction with cutbacks in coal and oil extraction—persisted in the fuel and energy complex's work during the first half of the year. The drop in oil extraction, which developed as early as 1988, is due to declining oil reserves at highly productive fields, development of less effective fields, and unsatisfactory utilization of operational equipment at oil wells. A tense situation developed regarding motor vehicle gasoline as a result of a drop in the quantity of crude oil refined in the national economy.

Industry's work is substantially affected by violations of prevailing economic ties, inflationary processes, and cutbacks in the imports of raw and other materials for the light and food industries, and of other components. The consequences of interethnic conflicts, strikes, and mass disturbances in individual regions have also had an effect.

Contractual discipline deteriorated this year. Shortfalls in deliveries of output to consumers during the first half of the year amounted to R5.3 billion which is almost double the amount in the corresponding period last year. Compared with January to May, the volume of undelivered output rose by R1.3 billion. January to June contractual commitments were performed 98.6 percent, with 18 percent of enterprises failing to ensure their performance (the corresponding figures for January to June last year were 99.3 and 14 percent, respectively). The worst lagging in the performance of deliveries commitments occurred in the Armenian SSR (89.2 percent performance of commitments), the Azerbaijan SSR (91.6 percent), the Georgian SSR (95.3 percent), and the Lithuanian SSR (96.6 percent). There was a shortfall of R1.1 billion in deliveries of output to consumers by enterprises in the Transcaucasian republics alone.

We use the store shelves to determine the state of the agro-industrial complex. But let us nonetheless cite some figures. Foodstuff production during the first half of this year amounted to R69.6 billion. Output growth amounted to R1.2 billion against a planned estimate of R11 billion for the year.

Compared with the corresponding period of 1989, agricultural enterprises in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], the Uzbek SSR, the Lithuanian SSR, the Moldavian SSR, and the Estonian SSR increased meat production somewhat in the current year. [passage omitted]

Average milk yield per cow in January to June on kolkhozes, sovkhozes [state farms], and interfarm enterprises in the country as a whole was 1,527 kg compared to 1,484 kg during the same period in 1989. At the same time, cow productivity declined on farms in 10 Union republics. The livestock and poultry head count in agricultural enterprises is dropping in many of the country's regions.

The quantity of vegetables purchased was smaller than last year. As of 25 June, the volume of purchases stood at 1.2 million tonnes which is 207,000 tonnes or 14 percent less than at the same date last year. Farms in 12 Union republics (with the exception of the Uzbek SSR, the Latvian SSR, and the Estonian SSR) reduced vegetable sales.

The production volume of nonfood goods (excluding light industry articles) in January to June amounted to R76.9 billion, or R9.1 billion more than in the first half of 1989. There was a substantial expansion of domestic appliance manufacture. But the growth attained in many categories still fails to ensure the attainment of production levels planned for the year. There was a cutback in the production of some goods in daily demand: pencils, safety razor blades, cigarettes, matches, and toothpaste. Light industry manufactured goods worth R50.5 billion, the growth amounting to R1.2 billion. [passage omitted]

The population's needs are not satisfactorily met in terms of high-tech appliances—television sets, refrigerators and freezers, sewing and washing machines, still cameras, clocks and watches, and means of transportation—as well as furniture, crockery, wallpaper, sporting goods, toys, jewelry, and others. Sales in value terms increased by 30 percent for hosiery, 20 percent for leather footwear, and 14-16 percent for cotton and wool textiles, clothing, underwear, and knitwear. But the tension on the light industrial goods market is not easing, it is actually growing and this is to a certain extent due to the unsatisfactory performance of interrepublic deliveries.

People get annoyed by sundry shortages, scarcity, and the ensuing waiting lines. An acute shortage of tobacco products has developed and their sales have declined by six percent. The prevailing situation is due to the fact that tobacco enterprises do not receive full deliveries of acetate filters, aluminum foil (main supplier—the Armenian SSR), and special packaging paper (Latvian SSR).

Given the growth of individual construction and despite increased deliveries, acute shortages persist regarding almost all categories of timber and construction materials. There is a scarcity of commercial lumber, sawn timber, veneers, prefabricated homes, summer houses, cement, slates, and so on. [passage omitted]

There are delays in building state-order projects for the manufacture of nonfood consumer goods, and this aggravates the consumer market situation. There were 22 such projects planned to be commissioned in January to June (including projects carried over from last year), but only 15 were actually commissioned. Commissioning schedules were yet again thwarted as regards the commissioning of footwear production capacities for 1.2 million pairs of footwear at the Krasnogvardeysk footwear factory in Samarkand Oblast, 3 million pairs at the Kokand footwear factory, and 0.8 million pairs at the Kulyab branch of Dushanbe's leather footwear production association; capacities for the production of furniture worth R30.7 million at Andizhan's furniture factory; and capacities for the production of 100 million disposable syringes at the Belgorod-Dnestrovsk medical products plant.

Despite the alarming ecological situation, two-thirds of state-order environmental protection projects were not commissioned. They include effluent purification installations at Kemerovo Oblast's Myski City, Kokchetav, Petropavlovsk, and the Volkhov aluminum plant; a closed water supply system at the Samarkand chemical plant; and installation to capture and deactivate harmful substances in waste gases at Severodonetsk's "Stekloplastik" Production Association, Lugansk Oblast. According to USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology data, there were 158 instances of water pollution by various substances registered at 82 water resource facilities involving a hundredfold and even greater excess of permissible norms. Work was done to normalize the ecological situation in Ufa following the pollution of the city's drinking water supply sources by phenol during the first quarter.

All that remains to be mentioned is the development of foreign economic ties. A growth of import purchases is noticeable here with a sizeable drop of the volume of earnings from sale of goods. Consequently, the country's foreign trade deficit during the first half of the year increased by a factor of more than 2.5 compared with the corresponding period last year. Export deliveries to CEMA countries in the first half of the year fell by 10.2 percent and amounted to R16.9 billion. Goods worth R19.6 billion were purchased in these countries, this being 93.9 percent of the level attained during the first half of 1989. The volume of export-import transactions during the first half of the year is described by the following data (in current prices; in billion foreign currency rubles): Exports—30.3 billion (33.4 billion during the first half of 1989); imports—36.7 and 35.9 billion respectively.

CEMA countries still remain the USSR's main partners in trade transactions, accounting for 55 percent of the total volume of the country's export-import transactions. Export deliveries to CEMA countries during the first half of the year fell by 10.2 percent and amounted to R16.9 billion. Goods worth R19.6 billion were purchased in these countries, being 93.9 percent of the level attained during the first half of 1989. The export of output in barter transactions is dominated by the same traditional commodities—fuel and raw materials (67 percent). There were more than 15,000 participants in foreign economic activity registered as at 1 July. There were 1,830 joint enterprises created with participation by foreign firms and organizations.

Abalkin Cited on Market Economy Transition

LD3007115990 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 30 Jul 90

[Text] In the Soviet Union the necessary legislation for moving over to a regulated market economy is being completed. A whole package of documents will be submitted to parliament in the period from August to October.

This was announced by Leonid Abalkin, deputy head of government. Much attention in the coming sweeping changes is given to privatization of property. It is planned to have small family shops in trade and public services. Stores and some other facilities will be sold to individuals. As for the big enterprises, they will be handed over to the labour collectives, or what is more probable, will become joint stock property.

Leonid Abalkin said that a special institution, a state property fund, will be guiding this complicated process.

Maslennikov Views Gorbachev's Financial Decree

LD3007172990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 30 Jul 90

[Report by correspondent Oleg Aksenov on news conference given by Arkadiy A. Maslennikov, USSR presidential press secretary, in Moscow on 30 July on the USSR president's decree "On Interaction Between the Union and Republican Bodies on Financial and Credit Matters During the Preparation of a New Union Treaty"]

[Text] [Aksenov] The complicated name for this document seems to confirm the complex nature of the problem—how to preserve as a whole the universal state system when some Union republics are delaring the possibility of issuing their own currency and setting up their own financial system, as well as developing and reorganizing it. Arkadiy Afrikanovich Maslennikov, presidential press secretary, informed us on what the country's president proposes.

[Maslennikov] The president proposes that the USSR Council of Ministers, together with the Union republics, start to profoundly examine finance and credit issues and other economic issues which are included in working out the Union treaty. For the period before the treaty is concluded it is recommended to refrain from adopting measures in this sphere which would be destructive to the established financial and banking systems.

The formation of a state bank council, including a USSR State Bank chairman and managers of the state banks of the Union republics, is envisaged in the decision to work out a common credit and finance policy and joint governing of the banking system until the Union treaty is concluded.

It is also proposed during this period to preserve the current procedure for issuing bank loans and transactions on the entire territory of the USSR which is envisaged by the legislation. The president's decree points out to Union republic supreme soviets the negative social and economic consequences which could emerge if the common monetary system is destroyed by introducing republican currencies which are restricted in circulation. In order to improve the country's finances, this document states that it is necessary for all Union republics to coordinate their efforts to actively promote a joint monetary policy and finance and budget policy.

[Aksenov] It was announced that a package of draft laws on reorganizing the credit and finance structure has been drawn up by the USSR State Bank and the country's

Ministry of Finance. It will be submitted for ratification to the autumn session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Viktor Vladimirovich Gerashchenko, chairman of the board of the country's State Bank, who took part in the press conference, had to answer the main bulk of the questions. Almost all of these related to mutual relations between the Baltic republics and the center, furthermore, in the specific sphere of finance. One of his replies:

[Gerashchenko] Quite recently, at a Council of Minister's session to consider our current economic problems and plan what we want to do in 1991, one senior representative from a Baltic republic made the following statement, more or less: We can seek various types of political solutions, but the more we become engrossed in our daily economy and the demands of the economy, the more we see how indissoluble our existing economic ties are. It seems to me, therefore, that life itself, and economic demands, will suggest the practical path that will in general lead all sides to negotiations in one form or another.

[Aksenov] Answers were also given to other questions from Soviet and foreign journalists.

More on Maslennikov's Comments

LD3007175890 Moscow TASS in English 1716 GMT 30 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondents Andrey Orlov and Vladimir Isachenkov]

[Text] Moscow July 30 TASS—The Soviet president's decree "On Interaction Between the Union and Republican Bodies in Matters of Finance and Credit During the Preparation of a New Union Treaty," published today, calls for a balanced approach to credit and financial policy.

Aspects of the decree and the issue were the focus of a news conference held today by presidential spokesman Arkadiy Maslennikov and Gosbank [USSR State Bank] Chairman Viktor Gerashchenko.

The strengthening of independence of republican state banks and the transformation of some of them into commercial banks are parts of a natural process, but in some cases measures of this kind result in the splitting up of the finance and credit system and the emergence of institutions which claim independence, up to introducing their own currency, Maslennikov said.

The presidential decree recommends to abstain from taking any steps until a new Union treaty is concluded, that can result in the disruption of the country's existing financial and banking system.

The current procedure for issuing bank loans and settling accounts on entire Soviet territory is expected to remain in force for this period.

In order to normalise the country's finances, the decree says, joint efforts of all Union republics and an active coordinated monetary and finance-and-budget policy is needed.

Gerashchenko spoke about his meeting with representatives of the Russian Government at which "an agreement was reached that specific principles for the operation of the country's banking system should be worked out even before a new Union treaty is concluded and signed."

As regards Union banking legislation, it was recently discussed in the USSR Council of Ministers and will soon be submitted to the country's parliament, Gerashchenko said.

Touching upon reasons for delays in the payoff of the Soviet foreign debt, he noted that Vneshekonombank is accurate in carrying out its obligations, but many new participants in foreign economic relations "failed to correctly plan receipts from their exports."

A negative role was played by Western creditors' fear of risk: As soon as one of them got frightened, others followed suit which "resulted in certain difficulties for Vneshekonombank in attracting mid-term and short-term credits from its traditional correspondents in other countries".

As a result Vneshekonombank was compelled to "drain its own currency reserves" and its accounts in Western Europe have been depleted. "However, the Soviet leadership has no plan to revise the terms of repayment under earlier concluded agreements," Maslennikov said.

Speaking about the Soviet Union's foreign debt, Gerashchenko said that the country's long-term obligations amount to nearly ten billion robles [R], mid-term—about R4-5 billion. Vneshekonombank indebtedness is between R18 billion and R19 billion.

Asked about the possibility of Union republics creating their own currencies, Gerashchenko described it as "a way leading to a deadlock," and the hopes of the Baltic republics to create convertible currency as "nostalgic dreams" based rather on recollections of the pre-war times than on a sober-minded economic analysis." [quotation marks as received]

"Considerable investments and financial efforts are needed in order to create a modern independent economy. I am not sure these can be made by a single republic", he said.

If republics do introduce independent currencies, accounts between them will either have to be settled in freely convertible currency, or the currency of an economically stronger partner will turn into a reserve currency. Then, they will have to return to settling accounts in rubles," Gerashchenko stressed.

Finance Official Discusses Financial Decree

LD3007121590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 30 Jul 90

[Interview with First Deputy Finance Minister Vladimir Yefimovich Orlov by unidentified announcer in the Moscow Television studio; date not given; from the "Vremya" newscast—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] We have in the studio Vlaidmir Yefimovich Orlov, USSR first deputy finance minister. Vladimir Yefimovich, my first question is this: Why has this decree been issued?

[Orlov] This decree has been adopted mainly because of decisions by certain republican supreme soviets, and in particular because of the decision by the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet on the RSFSR state bank and on banks in the RSFSR. First, the decisions adopted by the Federation directly contravene the USSR Constitution and the Union law on ownership adopted recently in March.

[Announcer] Why does it contravene?

[Orlov] It contravenes because both the Constitution and the law on ownership say the state bank is a state property. The role of the bank and the principles upon which its system is to work are also outlined in the Supreme Soviet law on the distinction between the functions of the Union, those of the Union republics, and those of the autonomous republics, which also has been recently adopted and which says clearly that the State Bank is to implement the regulation of monetary circulation on the basis of a single monetary unit; I stress, a single monetary unit.

[Announcer] Vladimir Yefimovich, alright, we will come back to this point. But I would like to ask you this: If there is no coordination between the actions of the USSR banks and those of the Union republics, how can it affect our economy?

[Orlov] To put it briefly, 15 independent markets instead of one single Union market will arise. Yet, it is our task today to unite production forces and to give them incentives.

[Announcer] And how will it affect the situation if the republics introduce their own individual currencies in their territories?

[Orlov] One can put it bluntly. This will create 15 states. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Vladimir Yefimovich, the decree determines a way out of the situation that has arisen. It consists of the need to organize new credit and financial relations between the Union and the republics upon the principles that will be laid down in the new Union treaty, and these are the principles that the USSR Council of Ministers has been instructed to work out. How far has this work gone? Very briefly please.

[Orlov] Today the preparation of the Union draft treaty is proceeding very actively. In my view, it will determine above all the general financial and credit policy of the state. It will cover issues concerning the budget, banks, currency, and a number of other important factors.

[Announcer] In other words, the new Union treaty must untangle all the knots and remove all the contradictions.

[Orlov] Definitely. It must firmly distinguish between the functions of the Union and those of the republics.

[Announcer] Thank you for your interview. Thank you.

State Bank Chairman Gerashchenko Interviewed

LD3007190790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1140 GMT 30 Jul 90

[Interview with Viktor Vladimirovich Gerashchenko, chairman of the USSR State Bank Board, by special correspondent Mikhail Zmeyenkov; place and date of interview not given; from "The Market and the Banks" program—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Gerashchenko] [passage omitted] What bothers me a little, maybe, is the fact that from time to time there is a sort of euphoria, a desire to be in command of the banks. It is said that the center was a poor commander, but if we are now to entrust a republic or an oblast with running banking, everything will be all right. We'll (?offload) our problems on to the oblasts, republics, and regions and everything will evidently be fine. In my view, however, we must proceed from one thing, that one cannot make use of other people's money without demand. If the banks are operating with money from outside—the proportion of capital in a bank's resources is not very great, after all—and are operating with the money of the population and that of enterprises, responsibility must primarily be to those who have entrusted their money to the bank. Here the command and administrative way of running the banking system is simply wrong.

In addition, a trend is now emerging where people want to create a lot of small banks at the level of oblasts, krays, and republics, forgetting that in all countries with developed goods, currency relations, and a developed economy there are always in addition to the specialized banks the local and investment banks, national structures that cover the entire country over and above all these divisions since it is precisely a large and important bank that can concentrate resources in the best way, make use of territorial and seasonal transferences of money, and present money to its clientele under more advantageous conditions than small banks. This is, so to speak, a worldwide process so that the desire to divide everything according to small areas and localities is a very harmful trend.

[Zmeyenkov] Viktor Vladimirovich, you began this topic yourself so I'll continue. Not long ago in your

interview for the "Vremya" program you criticized certain decisions adopted by the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet to reorganize the banking system. Could you specify what you see as the main shortcoming in these decisions?

[Gerashchenko] The first and most important shortcoming is that these decisions are, to start with, against the law. The decisions of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet run counter to the laws on ownership and the division of functions between the Union and republics which were recently adopted by the country's Supreme Soviet. Moreover, it is a step in the wrong direction when attempts are made to introduce administrative diktat into the banking system and the use of other people's money. For some reason, when adopting this law—which they say was passed in a mere 28 seconds without any debate at all—everyone forgot one that the population's investments in the country's Savings Bank are guaranteed by the state, not the USSR Government. It guarantees the confidentiality of an investment, that it can be returned and will be maintained intact. It is impossible to easily and simply divide this function according to region. If we have a single currency system and a single currency unit by means of which transactions are made in the national economy, it is only the issuing bank—the central bank—that has the right, should the population suddenly and under the influence of rumors of panic begin to withdraw its money from the savings bank, to issue sufficient notes. The RSFSR Central Bank created in accordance with the designers of this project does not have this ability. For this reason, I do not really understand how it is to meet the demands of those depositing their money with the savings bank on the territory of the RSFSR.

[Zmeyenkov] Here, no doubt, we are coming to the second part and the demand of some republics to have the right to issue money. What is your attitude toward this?

[Gerashchenko] You know, my attitude toward this is negative. If it is a matter—as it is say in the Baltic republics—of wanting to set up their own currency system, their own currency unit, and their own central bank, and moreover, unlike the Russians, they are doing this by civilized means then, given their own currency unit and their own central bank, issues can naturally be made. If the ruble is to be the currency unit in the country, or the remaining part of the country in the other republics, the currency system cannot be split into parts. There cannot be uncontrolled issues of money in any republic because if that issue goes beyond a reasonable framework it would basically start to influence the economic situation in other regions and the enterprises that work there through the channel of circulation. For this reason, in any country with a single currency unit, only one body—the central bank—has the right to issue money, even though it does so through its republican—or Land as in the FRG—offices. But that is merely the technique rather than a legal right.

[Zmeyenkov] So it is impossible then to talk about issuing money in isolation from the local currency or specialized currency of some kind. The entire currency and financial system of the state is violated.

[Gerashchenko] The unity of the credit and currency sytsem is violated. It is through issues that we begin to pump superfluous money into the economy.

[Zmeyenkov] Now, Viktor Vladimirovich, the following question: What from international experience does the State bank intend to include in the banking system in building market relations?

[Gerashchenko] In drafting our laws on the state bank and banking that were recently examined at a Council of Ministers session and that are to be submitted to the Supreme Soviet soon following certain editorial amendments, we envisage an emphasis on all the positive elements of international experience.

Of course, one of the important elements of our activity will be the corresponding requirement for repaid capital of the banks operating on the territory of the country and the scope of their credit investments. There will be a requirement for reserving part of the money attracted in the Central Bank, as in other countries. In the transfer to a market economy the entire interest policy will also be conducted more actively. This is the most important element of the activity of the banking system and the Central bank, because in current conditions I do not believe the rate that the existing banks now pay on the money brought in suits the individual depositor or enterprise which often prefer to keep their savings not in a monetary form but in the form of goods, avoiding even problems of supply, seasonal fluctuations, the need for reserves, and so forth.

Apart from that, the granting of credits naturally is implemented in our country at too low a rate, which does not make the economic unit relate to money as a precious commodity although there are problems here in that many sectors of the economy and enterprises in the national economy are in differing financial positions because, in their formation, frequently insufficient circuilating capital was invested. Here, naturally, we must carry out additional work together with the Ministry of Finance and with the enterprises themselves.

[Zmeyenkov] Tell me, Viktor Vladimirovich, how do you view the prospects for the ruble's convertibility?

[Gerashchenko] I would say on the whole we view this question optimistically but objectively. You know that many proposals which amount to suggesting that all our problems stem from the nonconvertibility of the ruble, and that if we make it convertible tomorrow then all our problems will disappear, show a simplistic and vulgar approach to this issue. For the ruble to be convertible in the sphere of foreign economic ties, first of all it must be convertible to us internally. It must truly become not only a means for accounting, bookkeeping, and calculation but must truly fully carry out its functions as a means of payment. But this function, given the shortcomings of production, is being increasingly lost. Therefore the way to convertibility of the ruble is primarily the way of strengthening the ruble inside the country, the correct functioning and operation of the monetary and credit system, the development of production and our export potential; only then will its external convertibility be on the agenda.

[Zmeyenkov] Finally, could you give a short-term forecast, say, of how the financial system as a whole and our hard currency will look in 1991, in your view?

[Gerashchenko] Well, you know, it's hard for me to speak about the financial system; this question is more appropriate for the minister of finance. But I believe that the development of market relations in our country will help members of our society—individuals and economic experts of enterprises—to have their feet increasingly on the ground and not just have their heads in the clouds. It seems to me that many such tendencies that we now have in political life are explained precisely by the fact that people do not understand how the economy works. So I believe that 1991 will also be a difficult year, a complex year, especially if the Supreme Soviet gathers its courage and adopts the necessary decisions on the transfer to a market economy. We simply have to become involved less in discussions and more in work.

[Zmeyenkov] But nevertheless you are a person who has more information concerning the banking system. In particular, are you confident that we will gradually emerge from the fairly complex economic situation in which we find ourselves?

[Gerashchenko] You know, sometimes for some reason we start to trace negative phenomena purely through the banking sphere, through the imbalance of monetary incomes and expenditure of the population, forgetting that wages in industry on the whole are growing—last year they increased by 13 percent—whereas output does not increase. So when the population starts asking where are the goods in the shops, it should first look to see whether every person is producing more than yesterday. Unfortunately, so far we do not have this, and I feel that there are many key problems and solutions for our economy that lie in precisely the sphere of material production and the sphere of linking output with wages.

Changes in Currency Regulation Announced

PM3007125390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by V. Romanyuk: "Currency Emerges from 'Shadows'"]

[Text] The government has adopted a resolution on improving retail trade in the country and on rendering services for foreign currency.

The fact that foreign currency is in circulation on the black market and is even "exchanged" at monstrous rates for rubles is known to everyone. This by no means strengthens the ruble's position but in fact does the opposite. The resolution which has been adopted introduces civilized norms to the existing realities of the currency market.

Presenting this government document to journalists, S. Sitaryan, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Foreign Economic Commission, stressed that it is a case of the fundamental perestroyka of the entire currency and financial system. For a long time currency resources were strictly centralized in our country: Neither enterprises nor even republics had them. Now the situation has changed. As of today 17,000 state, public, and cooperative enterprises have received the right to enter the world market. As of 1991 all exporting enterprises will have currency allowances. Here unified allowance norms will be introduced irrespective of the currency in which the deal is done. This is designed to encourage exports by the processing sectors. The proportion of currency allowances is also made dependent on the degree to which the raw material is processed.

Now any enterprise which has earned currency can obtain its profit in rubles at the specified exchange rate or at the same rate in hard currency. It is true that under this system enterprises which do not undertake foreign economic activity are deprived of access to currency. To overcome this barrier currency exchange bureaus are being organized where it will be possible to carry out the free exchange of rubles for currency on a market basis. How will the exchange rate be set? Without directives, at any rate! The rate will be determined by supply and demand, and by virtue of its market nature will differ sharply from the official rate. Currency auctions will enter into practice as early as this year. At the auctions the exchange rate will rise from the usual 15-16 rubles [R] per dollar to R30-40. And cooperatives and joint ventures are not allowed into the actions.

And now a specific question: What about retail trade for hard currency? Everyone can remember the government decision on the curtailment of this kind of trade and the de facto closure of the "Berezka" stores as a result of which the treasury is losing, according to some assessments, R600 in hard currency a year.

Recently there has been a marked increase in the mass of currency in the population's hands. Receipts of currency as payment for work abroad are increasing. And in addition enterprises which earn currency have received the right to spend 25 percent of it on social needs, on the acquisition of consumer goods. By the end of 1989 enterprises' accounts contained R2.3 billion in hard currency, and of these R0.5 billion could be spend on purchasing goods.

Civilized forms of payment for goods and services in foreign currency were required, ruling out violations and abuses. Returning to the content of the resolution just adopted, S. Sitaryan described the mechanism: It is a system of trading centers—republican, oblast, and city centers. Enterprises, including joint ventures, will become members of the trading centers. These firms have been given the right to conduct retail trade in hard currency. The all-Union trading center will exercise not administrative but consultative and information functions.

Finally, great hopes are linked with free economic zones in whose formation the local organs of power of the Russian Federation are now actively engaged.

"We proceed from the premise," S. Sitaryan stated, "that trade for hard currency can be carried out not only in imported goods but also in Soviet goods." This enables foreigners to acquire the goods they need without hindrance. So far the situation looks like this: Foreign tourists spend an average of R90 on a trip (mainly on food) while in the European countries they spend five or six times more. In principle we have few souvenirs or services which could be paid for in currency.

And another thing. Considerable currency allowances are envisaged for regions' social needs. On the other hand, to prevent the seepage of currency abroad we have done away with the declarations which the owners of currency have been obliged to submit when placing it in the bank. Nowhere in the world are such declarations required; they have been repealed even in China. It is our turn to do the same.

I asked Stepan Aramaisovich what expectations are linked with the resolution's adoption if you are looking at it from the position of our solvency on the world market. Of course, the increment cannot change the situation as a whole. As of today approximately R200 million in currency are circulating in the population's hands. Enterprises could spend a further R0.5 billion on acquiring goods. The transition, in mutual relations with the CEMA countries, to accounts in freely convertible currency for trade and other payments will also serve the aims of introducing order to the use of currency.

The development of barter (currency-free) deals has become a real breakthrough in foreign economic activity. Initially this was encouraged since it created incentives to production. But on a large scale, in S. Sitaryan's opinion, barter could do a disservice inasmuch as it will be a concealed form of dumping. Finally, money circulation takes no part in barter deals so the treasury receives no tax revenue. That means that the transition to accounting in freely convertible currency is not "ruin," as some opponents of this option believe, but a sensible measure which brings us closer to a stable economy and the convertible ruble.

New Output From Various Regions Profiled

PM3007132790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 27 Jul 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Here is some news from Nizhniy Tagil, Cheboksary, and Arkhangelsk.

[Reporter] Metallurgy workers in Nizhniy Tagil have assimilated production of an unusual item—a Funai VCR. [Video shows VCR assembly line] On the basis of a barter agreement the Japanese firm Funai is supplying the Nizhniy Tagil combine with its units, and in return above-plan production of cast iron is dispatched to Japan. The new production facility is proving profitable for the combine and ecologically clean. By the year's end the combine will be in a position to supply VCR's to approximately one in every five families living in the area.

[Video shows trailer production] An experimental plant for the production of nonstandard equipment has been opened at the Cheboksary Association for the Production of Industrial Tractors. Eighteen months ago the workers turned it into a cooperative venture. Having studied the market, they started producing trailers for cars. Genuine economic autonomy has made it possible to produce as much output in the last quarter alone as was previously produced in an entire year. [video shows trailer being towed by car]

[Video shows wooden furniture in production] Production of this comfortable furniture has been assimilated by the Krasnyy Kuznets Ship Repair Yard in Arkhangelsk. It also produces dacha furniture, conservatories, and wooden sports equipment. Specialists believe that the best examples are not inferior to the best Soviet and even world models.

Russian-Turkmen Cooperatives' Agreement Signed

PM3107090990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Report by V. Konovalov: "Together Toward the Market"]

[Text] An agreement for five years on trade and economic cooperation between the consumer cooperatives of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] and Turkmenia was signed 25 July in Moscow by V. Yermakov, chairman of the board of the Russian Union of Consumer Trade Cooperatives, and N. Nurklychev, chairman of the board of the Turkmen Union of Consumer Trade Cooperatives.

This agreement has been concluded with a consideration for our economy's transition to market relations and for the forthcoming treaty of the Union republics. It provides for mutually advantageous direct exchange of goods, primarily agricultural goods, between enterprises of the consumer cooperative movement, the expansion of forms of cooperation, including the creation of joint enterprises, the moving of the processing of output closer to its production, and joint emergence onto the foreign market.

Agricultural

Problems of Abundant Grain Procurement Outlined

PM3007140290 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jul 90 Second Edition p 1

[Feature including report by special correspondents I. Lakhno and V. Pankratov from Stavropol Kray, plus commentary by the agro-industrial desk: "Overcrowded Grain Stores"]

[Text] [Lakhno, Pankratov report] Stavropol Kray—The farmers of Stavropol Kray have long cherished the dream of a harvest of 5 million tonnes of grain from their vast grain fields. In recent years the dream has become a reality. This year it seems that the expectations of even the most incorrigible optimists will be surpassed. Not all the fields have yet been harvested, but they have already passed the 5 million tonne mark!

So why did everyone we met in recent days in the abundant fields or at the kolkhoz threshing floors, piled high with grain, show signs of anxiety and concern?

G. Belozerov, director of the "Izobilnenskiy" sovkhoz [state farm], is perplexed:

"What are we to do with such piles of grain? We have already sent 2,000 tonnes over and above the state order to the state grain stores. Our own barns are packed."

This is an urgent problem for the whole kray. To put it simply, neither the farms nor the procurement workers were quite ready to receive such an abundant harvest. And whereas it has been gathered in with the smallest losses of any year, during transportation and storage these losses could increase many times over. And after a brief interview in the field, V. Kocherga, first secretary of Georgiyevsk city party committee and chairman of the rayon soviet, rushed off to the kray center to demand at least 20 or so trucks to speed up the shipment of...feed grain, to the procurement centers. The kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes are ready to pay through the nose for it in the winter, as long as they can clear the mounds from the field threshing floors as quickly as possible. Time presses—it could start raining at any moment. However, for the sake of objectivity it must be said that this year the terms for selling grain are considerably more advantageous than last year. Grain purchase prices have been increased and quality is held in particularly high esteem this year. But money is not an incentive by itself. Who needs money when you cannot use it to buy a couple of buses or some extra cement above your quota?

Last year only six farms in this huge kray sold some of their above-plan grain for hard currency. Then they spent six months wandering around not knowing what to buy with it. It was paradoxical: They bought pipes, slates, and other construction materials for hard currency from enterprises at various cities in the country, near and far. This year, since they cannot rely on equal and honest partnership with the state, the most enterprising farm leaders have sent messengers off to a great many villages. Attempts are being made to establish direct links for the exchange of goods in kind. The farmers of Stavropol are prepared to exchange their best wheat for metal, cement, sawn lumber, trucks, buses, bulldozers....

But is this basis for "market" relations sensible? Would it not be better for the state to adopt measures so as to cover the peasants' money far more fully with goods, with everything that our villages so urgently need today?

Agro-Industrial Desk Commentary

The problem of grain purchases by the state, touched on in our correspondents' report, is coming to the fore.

The USSR Supreme Soviet set the volume of grain purchases at 85,291,000 tonnes. If the executive organs can procure this quantity of produce, we will keep grain purchases abroad within limits. No easy task. Last year it was not achieved. How are things this year? The harvest is excellent, but grain purchases are proceeding at a slow pace. The state order was only 18 percent fulfilled by 23 July. According to expert assessments, to ensure the continuous operation of the grain production line, the level of marketing of grain must be around 40 percent. In fact, in the country as a whole only 27 percent of the grain that is threshed is going for sale. The procurement rate is markedly lower than last year. Only one republic—the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR]—has a marketing indicator higher than the average for the Union. But even Russia's 31 percent does not offer grounds for rejoicing.

Behind the low grain purchase figures are hundreds of thousands of tonnes of grain at the threshing floors. In this form of storage, experts testify, one percent of the harvested grain is lost every day.

There are various reasons for this state of affairs. Our correspondents mentioned some of them. The shortage of manpower and equipment, gasoline, and spare parts plays a role. But these problems exist virtually everywhere while grain sales to the state are proceeding at different paces. For instance, in Zaporozhye Oblast the level of marketing of grain is 34 percent, in Dzhambul Oblast it is 39 percent, and in Rostov Oblast it is 35 percent. Of course these indicators do not represent the limit, but they are considerably better than the countrywide average. So another factor is equally important: The reluctance of some regions to sell grain to the state. The farm leaders themselves would be glad to add to the state's resources. They are inclined to do this because of the new purchase prices for grain and the lack of storage potential for storing it themselves. But sometimes the higher-ranking leaders prefer to keep the grain at their own disposal: "This is a good year, we do not know what next year will be like, so it is better not to hurry to sell grain to the state." Unfortunately by no means all the farm leaders are able to disregard this opinion. So has diktat by the center been replaced by local diktat?

The trend is alarming. The problem is that today only three republics are able to be fully self-sufficient in grain—Russia, the Ukraine, and Kazakhstan. They are the main suppliers of grain for the state's resources. So if these resources are not fully "replenished," the danger arises of grain shortages for the other 12 republics.

The arguments cited in our correspondents' report are also heard not infrequently. Farm leaders sometimes say: We will sell the grain, not to the state but by direct contacts to other regions in exchange for the goods we need. In other words, it is a question of going over to barter dealing. It is not hard to predict the consequences. If state purchases are now done away with on the spur of the moment, given the present imbalance in prices for different goods, chaos will ensue.

Yaroslavl Harvest 'Dying'; Emergency Declared

PM3107081390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by IZVESTIYA correspondent Mikhail Ovcharov under the "Direct Line" rubric: "State of Emergency Declared"]

[Text] Yaroslavl—Yaroslavl Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies has declared a state of emergency throughout the oblast. It will operate 1 August through 15 October.

Fortunately there have not been any earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, or nuclear explosions in the Upper Volga. It is a question of something else: The harvest is dying in the fields. The situation is catastrophic. Only half as much feed has currently been procured as by this time last year. Industrial enterprises and various organizations are still refusing today to voluntarily help out their "dependents"—the peasants. More precisely, they are refusing to do this work under duress, without self-interest.

And so this is the result—the introduction in the oblast, in every city and rayon, of a state of emergency. According to the soviet decision, oblast, city, and rayon soviet executive committee commissions dealing with emergency situations are obliged to enlist the requisite forces and funds from industrial enterprises, organizations, educational establishments, and also—on agreement with the Defense Ministry—from troop units to bring in the harvest.

However, this same session adopted another quite opposed and by no means emergency decision—"On Developing Private Farming [fermerstvo] in Yaroslavl Oblast"—which lays out a clear procedure for organizing farms of this kind and for private farmers to obtain land.

Delay in Grain Imports Urged To Free Transports

PM3107111590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 27 Jul 90

[Report by V. Golubev from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Harvest '90. We did not think that cultivating what seems to be a record harvest of 230 million tonnes of grain we would find ourselves so unprepared to deal with this abundant harvest. There is a shortage of combines for harvesting in all areas. The RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] has only 82 percent of the combines needed. Motor vehicles, drivers, and gasoline are in short supply. Today's report is from Stavropol. The annual plan for orders has already been exceeded by 100,000 tonnes, the grain elevators are overflowing, while freshly threshed grain is lying in the open air. Railroad workers lack freightcars. How are things in our traditional granary, the Kuban?

[Golubev] On your screens you can see Kuban's grain for 1990 [video shows flood of grain]. There is more of it than ever before—approximately 10 million tonnes of choice grain. This represents 53 quintals per hectare. It is not only a question of a success for the grain growers here but of constant, daily work over a five-year period on the part of all subunits in the kray's agro-industrial complex. We began this five year plan with 32 quintals, and it is difficult to produce less than that. It is the acute shortage of spare parts, fuel, and transport—in short, our usual problems—that have caused the great harvest to deteriorate. The notorious state corn bins are cracking up under the onrush of grain. How much of it is on the threshing floors?

[A.Ya. Ugryumov, chief of the kray grain product directorate] The conditions in which we are working today have been complicated by the delightfully large harvest and by the big crop being volunteered by kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms] offering a much larger amount of grain for state procurements—that is, the sale of grain to the state. Additional difficulties have also arisen in this connection. We are constantly asking, that is, we oppose this planning of volumes because we have to increase the number of freightcars in order to extricate ourselves from the situation and free, say, the capacities taken up with wheat for sunflowers which are to be harvested soon. Over the next ten days we are asking for something in the order of 850-900 freightcars.

[A.B. Tolstobrov, deputy chief of Krasnodar Railroad Department] Well, then. What are the railroad workers doing in this situation? First, all freightcar preparation centers have been brought into operation and are working. This is the third day now that we have been readying cement carriers—freightcars that transport cement are being made ready to transport grain. To be specific, yesterday 36 of these freightcars were made ready. We are organizing inland routes and will be dispatching grain and carrying out shipments within the department.

[Golubev] This trouble has developed at the same time as the harvest has been ripening abroad.

[Tolstobrov] No grain must arrive at the port of Novorossiysk for three months now, in order to ensure that all the existing grain cars are used to transport Soviet grain alone.

[Golubev] So two streams of grain come together—our Soviet grain and American grain. God help us if they form a mighty river and then split up into little streams and are lost. The recent statement by Comrade Krasnoshchekov, deputy chairman of the State Commission for Food and Procurements, saying that probable grain losses this year could total the amount that we buy in from abroad, is, after all, symptomatic.

Concern Over Fuel Supplies for Harvest Workers

PM3007112090 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by V. Gavrichkin under the rubric "On a Topical Theme": "Fuel Leaking Away"]

[Excerpts] Judging by the numerous statements on the priority that must be given to the agro-industrial complex, fuel—particularly now that the question of whether or not we will have grain is being decided—should virtually be flowing straight into the tanks of the combines, tractors, and trucks engaged in the harvest. But reports from the harvest fields show that if fuel is flowing at all, it is flowing in some totally incomprehensible direction. However, judge for yourselves.

...The last combines have just left the wheat fields of the Kuban. An unprecedented crop was gathered here: The latest reports are showing threshings as high as 120 quintals, while on average each hectare of winter wheat yielded more than 55 quintals! The Kuban has never before seen such yields of grain. But do you think that as they threshed the rich grain crops the Kuban machine operators were looking anxiously at the sky? No, at the fuel gauges—on many farms what happened was that the tanks ran dry and the motors of the harvesting machines ground to a halt. Even now in some places there are fuel reserves for no more than 24 hours. Yet there is still about 3 million tonnes of grain at the threshing floors—it has to be moved. And the "second harvest" lies ahead, the harvesting of corn, beet, sunflowers.... The volume of work in the fields and of crops to be transported is not smaller but larger than in the grain reaping.

The situation is the same, or worse, for the farmers of the Don, the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, the Volga region, and other regions of the Russian Federation today. Worse still Belorussia, Uzbekistan, and Moldavia have failed to receive a vast quantity of diesel and vehicle oils. This could stop the harvest entirely. [passage omitted]

In the first half-year alone, enterprises of the agro-industrial complex were supplied with 176,000 tonnes of gasoline and 462,000 tonnes of diesel fuel less than they had been allocated. At the same time the industrial sector used 665,000 tonnes of gasoline and nearly a million thousand tonnes [as published] of diesel fuel more than its quotas, naturally by "cutting into" the countryside's pie! You cannot call it quota discipline when matters reach the point of open extortion. I know of cases where construction workers, for instance, openly set terms for the country dwellers: "Unless you give us part of your fuel stocks, we will walk out on the project and you can build it yourselves!"

The republic and local organs of power in the Ukraine, Uzbekistan, and Kazakhstan, as well as the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, are particularly noted for this. So when they make complaints to the center they are rather like the man who squanders all his money and then, clutching his empty pocket, shouts: "Stop thief!"

The center, difficult as it is, has yet again adopted measures. On the instructions of the USSR Council of Ministers, fuel allowances for the agro-industrial complex have been sharply increased for the third quarter. But if the petroleum product supply organs and the railmen cope with the delivery schedules (and that is their duty!), where is the guarantee that even these additional supplies will go to the farmers and not to someone else? [passage omitted]

Equipment Problems Hamper Grain Growing Success

PM3007131990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 27 Jul 90

[Report by N. Chebotarev and V. Yablokov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Now one of the most important summer problems—the harvest problem. Specialists are predicting that this year the harvest will come close to our record figure of 1978 of more than 230 million tonnes. But we are facing another record too, a sad one unfortunately. Just 82 percent of combines are ready for the harvest in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], for instance. And things are roughly the same in other regions. There's no transport for the grain and there's a shortage of gas and spares for the harvesting machines and their operators. Our correspondent reports from Rostov.

[Reporter] [video shows harvesting operations] The crop farmers were simply unprepared for so much grain. On most farms mountains of grain are being stored in the open at threshing floors. If it weren't for the good weather we'd be losing the grain. The grain should be taken to grain reception centers as has always been the case. But first, there's nothing to transport the grain, and second, silo capacity is patently incapable of accommodating all the grain, and it is again lying around in the open. These problems do not worry the collective at Zernogradskiy Rayon's Lenin Kolkhoz [collective farm]. [video shows grain stored under cover] The people there saw the changes coming and built these covered threshing floors in all sectors where the grain can be stored and processed through to the white flour stage. And recently they built this mini-silo—rather, an actual enterprise for the storage and processing of grain. [sign on side of silo reads "Built on a turnkey basis in 60 days"] These complexes are being built by Rostov's Selkhozelevatorspetsstroy Trust. [video shows models of silos] Take a look at what the construction workers have to offer. Something to suit all tastes, any configuration, any size, relatively cheap, and above all built on a turnkey basis. But unfortunately there is already a waiting list until 1994. [video shows V.B. Dormostuk, manager of the trust]

[Dormostuk] The main problem facing us today is equipment. This range of equipment is hardly manufactured in this country today. So the main question is to decide who's going to make this equipment. And the second question is to ensure that the equipment is of the most modern variety—equal to world standards. There is virtually no prospect of this happening at the present time.

[Reporter] Yet the country has many unpromising enterprises. So maybe it would be a good idea to convert some of them, shaking off our notorious departmental fetters. And we ought to organize production of those things we cannot do without.

Reactions to Saratov Calls for Help With Harvest

PM3107075590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 27 Jul 90

[Report by V. Ryazanov and V. Dolgov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The big harvest is causing big problems. Here's a report on the subject from Saratov.

[Reporter] The harvest in the right-bank rayons of Saratov Oblast has started with rain and problems. These problems are being solved in different ways. [video shows harvesting work] Although things may be slightly different in different rayons, for the oblast as a whole the situation is the same. The unusually bountiful harvest for these parts will not be gathered in without the townspeople's help. Many of these men were contacted in the middle of the night, heeded the call to leave their apartments, and now these military drivers [presumably reservists]—who were ordinary civilians until yesterday—are engaged in harvesting work. These are major measures along the lines of administrative coercion. But even so, there is a shortage of drivers, machine operators, and trucks for harvesting work in the fields. [video shows shots of city life] One in every four townspeople seconded to work in the countryside is still remaining in town. Some people put this down to the townspeople's lack of awareness, others to the lack of mutually advantageous relations between the city and the countryside. But the harvest won't wait. This is the Transvolga region—the harvest starts earlier here. Barley is already being reaped following the winter crops. And next in line is Saratov's famous strong and durum wheat.

Scientific

Crew of Mir Station Marks 170 Days in Orbit

LD3107125690 Moscow TASS in English 1224 GMT 31 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow July 31 TASS—TASS correspondent reports from the Mission Control Centre:

Anatoliy Solovyov and Aleksandr Balandin have been working for 170 days in a near-earth orbit on board the "Mir" space station.

In accordance with the program of space material studies, the crew completed another smelt using the unit "zone-03".

Experiments were conducted using "Kristallizator" equipment designed by Czechoslovak and Soviet specialists. This equipment is meant for fundamental research into crystallisation of various materials and alloys in weightlessness.

Today the crew is to conduct geophysical research. There are plans for visual observations and photography of tracts of forest in southern Siberia that were affected during forest fires in 1989.

The experiments could help develop methods of spotting and assessing the state of sections with anomalous development of vegetation.

Yesterday Solovyov and Balandin underwent thorough checks of the cardio-vascular system during training in the pneumovacuum suit tchibis [as received]. The results of medical survey indicate that both cosmonauts are in good health.

Preparations for the launching of "Soyuz TM-10" manned spaceship are being concluded at Baykonur Cosmodrome. The ship will be blasted off at 13 hours 23 minutes Moscow time on August 1.

Replacement Cosmonauts Named for 1 Aug Launch

LD3107045590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0430 GMT 31 Jul 90

[Text] Our special correspondent Vladimir Bezyayev has just reported from the Baykonur Cosmodrome that the State Commission has confirmed the crew of Gennadiy Manakov and Gennadiy Strekalov. Thus tomorrow we have the launch of the "Soyuz-TM 10" craft. The aim of the launch is to take over from the sixth expedition on the "Mir" complex. The planned duration in space is 132 days.

Program To Last Four Months

LD3107112190 Moscow TASS in English 1056 GMT 31 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondent V. Khrustov]

[Text] Baykonur Cosmodrome July 31 TASS—The Soviet Union today named a crew for the "Soyuz TM-10" transport spacecraft due to be launched to the "Mir" orbital complex on Wednesday.

As was expected, Anatoliy Solovyov and Aleksandr Balandin will be replaced by the back-up team of Gennadiy Manakov and Gennadiy Strekalov. Viktor Afanasyev and Musa Manarov are the back-up crew.

At a news conference held on this occasion, the cosmonauts briefed correspondents on the main points of the program which will last four and a half months. The crew of the seventh main expedition will relieve the current crew and continue their research, a total of 250 experiments.

The cosmonauts will receive and unload two "Progress" freight spacecraft and are expected to make two or even more space walkouts to fix the "Kvant-2" exit hatch which caused Solovyov and Balandin a lot of trouble.

Yesterday members of the state commission met Soviet and foreign journalists to brief them on the forthcoming flight and prospects for developing Soviet space research and international efforts in space exploration.

"Soyuz TM-10" is scheduled to be launched at 13:32 Moscow time on August 1.

New 'Mir-2' Design Reportedly Completed

LD3007214390 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 30 Jul

[Text] A space laboratory of a new generation has been designed in the Soviet Union. Mir-2 is to be put into orbit in the 1990s. A Radio Moscow reporter has been told about this by the Soviet cosmonaut and scientist Vladimir Solovyev who is now in charge of the mission aboard the Mir-1 station. The new space lab will weigh several hundred tonnes and will fly at high altitudes. It will be equippped with advanced computers and its separate parts are to be put into orbit with the help of the world's most powerful Energiya rocket.

Baykonur Press Center Opens 30 Jul

LD3007153890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 30 Jul 90

[Summary] Over 50 Soviet and foreign journalists are already accredited in the Baykonur press center which opened today. Tomorrow a sitting of the state commission will determine the composition of the crew which will leave for the Mir station on 1 August.

Military

Northern Fleet Commander Rejects Navy Cutbacks

PM3007130790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Jul 90 First Edition p 1

[Interview with Northern Fleet Commander Admiral F. Gromov by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given; published under the "Topical Interview" rubric: "Common Sense"—first paragraph is an editorial introduction]

[Text] Today the Armed Forces are actively involved in the maelstrom of the country's political life. Against the background of this reality a note of discord is sounded by the demands of certain social circles for the depoliticization of the Army and Navy and by voices saying that nobody and nothing is threatening us. Are these and certain other judgments about the Armed Forces in accordance with elementary common sense? It was with this question that our correspondent began a conversation with Northern Fleet Commander Admiral F. Gromov, a delegate to the 28th CPSU Congress.

[Gromov] Similar judgments were also expressed at the 28th party congress. The answer to them can be found in the congress resolution "On the Party's Main Military Policy Trends at the Contemporary Stage." It says: "Congress declares that, until there are guarantees of the irreversibility of positive changes, there is still a military danger to the USSR."

As regards depoliticization I will say firmly: The country's social life will not be complete without the active participation of servicemen. Just how can military personnel be excluded from a natural human activity, especially as life has already resolved this question? Today we are dealing with the wide politicization of the Army and Navy. And this does not interfere with combat training, indeed it has a positive effect on it.

The results of Army and Navy combat training in the first half of the training year are convincing evidence of this. The Navy's air forces, for example, where social and political activities have been particularly enlivened and where elections to local soviets have brought success to many servicemen-candidates, have successfully fulfilled the tasks facing them.

The Armed Forces are the people's own flesh and blood; they have always been with the people. And especially so now at this difficult and critical moment in our history. And it is no accident that electors frequently entrust servicemen with representing their interests in the organs of state power. It means that people have faith in us....

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Incidentally, at the fleet party conference S. Serokurov, first secretary of Murmansk Obkom [Oblast Party Committee], said with a smile that some people are calling the newly elected oblast soviet a "military council" because there are so many servicemen-deputies in it....

[Gromov] Here the specific character of our region, where the Northern Fleet comprises a considerable part of the population, should be borne in mind. Hence the large number of deputies in military uniform. There is, going beyond the fleet's boundary and the Kola Peninsula, another reason: Today people have lost faith in many respects. But in the majority's eyes a military man, fortunately, still remains the personification of efficiency and self-discipline, honesty and decency—of everything that is now so sorely needed. Significant in this respect is the election of an RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] people's deputy and military soviet member—Rear Admiral A. Selivanov, chief of the Northern Fleet Political Directorate—as an RSFSR Supreme Soviet member, the only one from the Murmansk delegation.

Servicemen-deputies are very responsible people who endeavor to organize their work so that neither their service nor their deputy's work suffer. To corroborate this I will cite the name of Captain Second Rank N. Kozorez, elected part-time deputy chairman of Severomorskiy City Soviet. As chief of the fleet communications control center he continues just as conscientiously as before, if not more jealously, to fulfill his service duties. Exactly the same can be said for Major G. Petrogradskiy, Rear Admiral R. Chebotarevskiy, and our other deputies.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] We have already said that pacifist views and attitudes have received a certain airing in our society. Are there sufficient grounds for this given, say, the military and political situation in the Northern Fleet's zone of responsibility?

[Gromov] In the light of the processes taking place in the world, it might have been assumed that NATO countries' naval forces would keep a lower profile in the northern seas. However, the reality that we have is completely different. Not least because the reequipping of NATO ships and aircraft operating in this region is still continuing, and because ships and submarines with exceptionally high specifications are arriving to replace ships and submarines which are becoming outdated. And what's more, despite all NATO's declarations about reducing the number of naval exercises, calculations reveal that the number of such exercises in our zone has grown in the past months of the year by approximately 10-15 percent compared with the same period last year. Thus, this year British ships were in the Barents Sea on reconnaissance for a month, and then two French ships replaced them for the same purpose. Typically, until last year, French ships did not participate very actively in NATO naval maneuvers. But now their activeness has noticeably increased....

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Has the adoption of a defensive military doctrine affected the nature and intensity of the fleet's combat readiness?

[Gromov] One must clearly differentiate between land and sea theaters of military operations. If for effective land defense it is sufficient to have a relative force ratio of one to three or one to four, at sea such arithmetic is unacceptable. In a naval battle or naval operation the defending side's total of mission capabilities must be approximately equal to the attacking side's total. But if we are so inferior to NATO in the quantity of naval weapons—a well-known fact—then there can be no talk of any lowering of the intensity of the fleet personnel's combat training as a result of the adoption of a defensive military doctrine. On the contrary, it must be strengthened so that a higher quality of combat training and level of combat readiness compensate for the numerical inferiority.

Another question is closely linked to your question: Will the expected 50-percent cut in strategic offensive weapons affect the fleet's combat training if a USSR-U.S. treaty on this is signed at the end of this year? It is as yet premature to say in what specific way the Northern Fleet will be affected by a possible cut in nuclear potential, but we are already preparing for it. What chiefly concerns us is how to make a reduction with the least harm to the country's defensive capability and the fleet's combat readiness. And the main recipe will be, to all appearances, as before—quality and more quality of combat training at the "production centers" which will remain at our disposal....

In conclusion I would like to say: The Army and Navy, it stands to reason, cannot and must not shut themselves off from the the general public's attention. The practice of recent years shows that the Armed Forces are an organism which is fully receptive to outside criticism. However, to switch from criticism to a pogrom, as some people are now trying to do, is impermissible. It is always necessary to stand for common sense, for taking account of realities, and for sincere concern over the Army's and Navy's improvement, preservation, and strengthening aimed at guaranteeing the security of our country.

Soldiers Returning from Hungary Cite Problems

PM3107085190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Letter from I. Rogozin, N. Lyakhova, and others: "Strangers Everywhere"]

[Text] In June 1990 our regiment left Hungary and set off for Borovka processing station [p/o], Vitebsk Oblast. Back in March Colonel General M. Burlakov, commander of the Southern Group of Forces, visited us repeatedly and assured us that every condition for our normal life and service had been created in Belorussia. The mass media also mentioned two-story cottages.

In actual fact we were settled in barracks and so-called "modules." These are caravans with plywood partitions instead of walls. The roofs are covered with slate without roofing paper. They are constructed hastily, according to who knows what plan, without foundations, on sand banks right on the lake shore. A couple of episodes of rain and we will wake up in the lake. The sandbank is already slipping and the floor is spreading almost to the ground. It is true that a paneled five-story apartment block is reaching completion and will be divided among four troops units and the local population.

Now about the indifference of the local population. On television we were welcomed hospitably on Belorussian soil but in fact... they do not want to serve us in the stores. "You have come to eat us out of house and home, get out of here." But we are not to blame for the fact that the government has decided to withdraw all troops. We have fulfilled our order and left on time and without complications. So treat us humanely, but instead the new name of "Hungarians" has been thought up for us.

Our children are neglected—there are no places for them in the kindergartens, schools, pioneer camps, or sanatoriums, there is no normal medical aid, not to mention the allocation of free medicine. Our wives do not have the right to use the milk kitchen; they are refused the allowance for the birth of a second, third, or subsequent child; and they have been completely deprived of the monthly allowances for a child under the age of 18 months. The serviceman's family is caught in a trap—there is no kindergarten, his wife does not work, does not receive allowances for the children because he is not registered, and he is not registered because there is no housing.

N. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, has told the whole world that our country is economically prepared to receive the troops withdrawn from Hungary and Czechoslovakia. In Hungary people shouted at us: "Russians, get out," and on coming to the homeland we are hearing approximately the same thing, but from our own compatriots. We have proved to be strangers both there and here.

[Signed] I. Rogozin, N. Lyakhova, 73 signatures in all.

Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Far East Commander Comments on Restructuring

PM3107080190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Jul 90 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed interview with Colonel General V. Novozhilov, commander of the Far Eastern Military District; date and place not given; published under the "Military Reform: Express Survey" rubric: "Three Questions for the Commander"]

[Text] [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] 1. In connection with the military reform what has already changed in the life and activity of the troops under your command?

[Novozhilov] Unfortunately, there are as yet considerably fewer positive changes than I would like. First, there has been a substantial reduction in personnel. Troops' organizational and staff structure is changing. Work of this kind requires considerable efforts from commanders, staffs, and political organs. Let's hope that these changes will prove their worth and help to enhance combat readiness.

A considerable amount is also being done to restructure combat and political training in line with the demands of defensive doctrine. It has proved possible in a number of units and formations to boost qualitative indicators in combat training and instruction for personnel. The democratization of all aspects of the life of society has also made its mark on troop collectives' activity. There are not only positive results; in particular one cannot help but be alarmed by the fact that military service is declining in prestige and there is definite disillusionment to be seen, especially among young officers.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] 2. In your view, what should be the final aim of the reform of the Armed Forces?

[Novozhilov] Perestroyka in the Army should produce the level of combat readiness required by the times and the international situation which by no means precludes military danger today. The Armed Forces must have an opportunity to tackle their main task—combat and political training and service—from which servicemen must not be distracted by countless economic worries and the fulfillment of alien functions.

Servicemen must obtain secure social protection, and the material and social conditions of their lives must be brought into line with their outlay of spiritual and physical effort and with the Army's supreme destiny.

I think that the gradual transition to a professional army staffed on the basis of voluntary recruitment will help fulfill the aforementioned tasks.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] 3. In your opinion, what are the main obstacles in the way of the profound transformations within the Army and Navy that are necessary today?

[Novozhilov] Above all, lack of effective operational legislative acts and new statutes regulating all aspects of the life and activity of the Armed Forces.

The crisis in society, above all the economic crisis, has a considerable adverse effect on the situation among the troops. The exacerbation of interethnic relations in the country sometimes also adversely affects the climate in multiethnic troop collectives. Anti-Army sentiments among some of society do great damage, as does psychological pressure on people wearing military uniform.

Local Organs Criticized Over Arms Thefts

PM3007140590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 27 Jul 90 Second Edition p 6

[Interview with USSR Deputy Prosecutor General V. Kravets by TASS correspondent N. Demidov; place and date not given: "What Lies Behind the President's Decree?"]

[Text] A persistent growth in crimes involving the theft and use of firearms and ammunition has been observed in the country over the last two years: A total of 955 cases of such crimes were recorded in 1989, 335 more than in the previous year; the detection rate was 62.7 percent; and 638 crimes were committed in cities and large centers of population as well as 274 in republic, kray, and oblast centers. Already this year 922 such crimes have been committed. The number of thefts of firearms has grown in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], Georgia, the Ukraine, Belorussia, Lithuania, Turkmenia, and Armenia; some decrease has been noted in Estonia and Kazakhstan.

These statistics were cited at a coordinating conference of USSR law-enforcement organ personnel held 26 July at the USSR Prosecutor General's Office. The conference was convened in connection with the USSR president's decree "On Banning the Formation of Armed Groups Not Stipulated by USSR Legislation, and Confiscating Weapons in Cases of Their Unlawful Possession."

"As a rule, weapons are stolen to be passed on later to various armed groups," USSR Deputy Prosecutor General V. Kravtsev noted in conversation with TASS correspondent N. Demidov. "At the present time, for example, a number of members of the Latvian Social Democratic Party are under investigation after having a large quantity of various arms, ammunition, and mines confiscated from them. They have set up a conspiratorial guerrilla organization. Some of this group's weapons were earlier passed to the 'Karabakh' committee."

V. Kravtsev informed me that last year, during the events in the Abkhaz ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] and the South Osetian Autonomous Oblast, almost 10,000 shotguns, 648 carbines, 511 assault rifles, 10 machineguns, 20 pistols, 56 carbines [as published], and more than five tonnes of explosives were stolen. But only 27 crimes were solved.

In many ways this happened because the leaders of local organs did not manage to counter these crimes properly, the USSR deputy prosecutor general stressed. The militia detachments on duty were frequently instructed only in general terms, with no consideration of potential attacks; operations groups personnel sat in their offices in isolation and often discovered what had happened after the event. Thousands of guns and explosive devices of various kinds are circulating in the transcaucasian republics. Documents testify to the fact that the small group of guerrillas of the Azerbaijan People's Front in Dzhalilabadskiy Rayon alone has 40 pistols, 6 assault rifles, and more than 600 shotguns. Secret arms storehouses are being set up. In Shaumyanovskiy Rayon in Azerbaijan 38 assault rifles and 30,000 rounds were confiscated from one such storehouse. It has been established that two mortars were manufactured at the Leytenant Shmidt plant in Baku. The situation is no better in Armenia.

Often arms reach "hot points" from other areas of the country. In many ways this is possible because of very serious violations of the rules of arms storage and stockkeeping. For instance, in an urban forest and game reserve in Volyn Oblast in the Ukraine, of 49 workers who possess weapons permits have been issued to only 19. In the city of Mukachevo in the cash department of the USSR Bank for Industrial Construction there are 31 pistols, but the permit is registered for only 16. Negligence is the cause of thefts of explosive substances at mines and other sites in Donetsk, Dnepropetrovsk, Zaporozhye, Ivanovo-Frankovsk, and Lvov Oblasts.

In the USSR there are 150,000 sites where firearms are stored, but this is not done in the proper way everywhere. In Lithuania, for instance, out of 1,153 such sites, one in two has no alarm system and only one in 10 is guarded. And then there is the following fact: Almost 40 percent of arms thefts are committed in schools.

The number of attacks on servicemen, units, and storehouses has increased. And the attackers have not always been been met with the proper resistance. Although, in the opinion of USSR deputy prosecutor general, shooting without warning is stipulated in these cases by the garrison and guard services statutes. Nevertheless, in January of this year a group of persons, penetrating the premises of a military unit of the KGB border guards in Yerevan, disarmed the guard, the unit duty officer, and the sentry in the watchtower and carried off by car 133 assault rifles, 500 magazines, 25 pistols, 4,115 rounds of ammunition, 474 grenades, and 14 battle-noise simulators.

"The statistics I have cited do not fully reflect the real situation with regard to arms thefts," Kravtsev noted. "After all, the statistics take no account of information on the theft of smoothbore shotguns. And there are increasing cases of this."

In this respect, the USSR deputy prosecutor general believes, it is essential to add to the law amendments stipulating the same responsibility for the theft of rifled arms as for hunting weapons. Specialized devices are often used in the perpetration of a crime: nerve and tear gas. And yet, Kravtsev noted, at the moment they are not recognized as weapons, and no responsibility for their illegal manufacture, acquisition, sale, and transportation is provided for. This gap has to be eliminated.

According to the USSR deputy prosecutor general, the internal affairs organs do not always adopt the proper measures in the fight against arms seizures. This is strongly evident in the case of Armenia. Paramilitary groups formed there seize arms by violent means from internal affairs organs; subunits of the paramilitary security forces; tactical units; storehouses; organizations of the All-Union Voluntary Society for Assistance to the USSR Army, Air Force, and Navy; and military centers at institutes, vocational and technical colleges, and schools. Already this year more than 6,000 weapons—including 2,500 combat weapons, more than 50,000 tonnes of explosives, and a mass of ammunition—have been seized. Analysis of the events shows that these crimes were thoroughly planned; the attackers had precise information about the protection of the sites and the number of weapons stored. At the same time the republic's internal affairs organs did not even suspect that crimes were being planned and adopted no effective measures to curb them. Arms confiscated from the population were not handed in at the proper time to military units. With the obvious complicity of officials of the militia, the attackers penetrated the Yerevan Internal Affairs Administration building where they seized 100 pistols and ammunition. V. Kravtsev claims that virtually no work toward curbing and preventing these crimes was carried out in Armenia. To this day many weapons and much ammunition and military equipment remain in the hands of the guerrillas. This includes four armored personnel carriers, infantry combat vehicles, 58 guns, mortars and hail suppression guns, and 5,767 shells and missiles. The republican branch of the State Committee for Hydrometeorology, which has jurisdiction over hail suppression weapons and devices, turned out to be completely uncontrolled.

"It would be incorrect to suppose that we have been passively waiting for this decree," V. Kravtsev noted. "Last year criminal proceedings were instituted against 383 people for arms and ammunition theft, and 28,000 people suffered various punishments for illegal acquisition, sale, manafacture, transportation, or carrying of arms, ammunition, and explosives. But considering the actual situation, these measures are obviously insufficient."

In short, there are a mass of problems. And the longer they remain unresolved, the more grief and suffering will fall to people's lot. The law-enforcement organs must use all the force of the law to prevent new tragedies. "I wish to state, with full responsibility, that these measures will be adopted immediately," the USSR deputy prosecutor general stated.

Western Group Officer on Defectors to FRG

PM3007154190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Jul 90 First Edition p 5

[Report by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Major S. Popov, "from the Western Group of Forces," under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Deserters?"]

[Text] AFP and some other Western mass media recently reported that three Soviet soldiers from the Western Group of Forces fled across the open border into the FRG. Two of them have asked the West German authorities for political asylum.

In this connection Lieutenant General L. Kuznetsov, chief of staff of the Western Group of Forces, said that the group's command has not as yet received any official confirmation of this. However, according to data provided by the relevant bodies, it is presumably a question of Junior NCO's Andrey Zhukov and Ruslan Aliyev, and Private Rustam Khubetov.

Everything indicates that the motives prompting Zhukov and Aliyev to ask for political asylum are unclear. In the opinion of a spokesman for the group's political directorate, who drove out to the subunit where they were serving, there are no grounds for talk of any oppression against them.

With regard to Khubetov it is known that, shortly before running away, he had returned from the USSR where he had attended a tribunal as a witness, asking for a transfer to serve in the USSR.

At any rate the servicemen's actions cannot be seen as anything but desertion with all the attendant consequences.

Admiral Chernavin Addresses Navy Day Meeting

PM3107081790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jul 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report entitled "In Honor of the Holiday"]

[Text] A ceremonial meeting of representatives of the Moscow public and troops from the capital's garrison was held in Moscow 27 July to mark USSR Navy Day.

O.D. Baklanov, CPSU Central Committee secretary; I.S. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; leaders of a number of ministries and departments; military chiefs; and veterans of the Soviet Armed Forces were on the Presidium.

The meeting was addressed by Fleet Admiral V.N. Chernavin, commander in chief of the Navy and USSR deputy defense minister.

Baltic Republics

Talks With All Baltic States 'Very Unlikely'

LD3107114790 Vilnius International Service in English 2130 GMT 30 Jul 90

[Excerpts] Preparations are under way for talks between Lithuania and the Soviet Union. However, nobody is yet in the position to say when the talks will really begin, because it seems that so far both sides have a totally different approach with regards to the initial stage of the negotiations. And besides, the preparatory work itself as conducted by Lithuania and the Soviet Union is at variance.

As Bronius Kuzmickas, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council said, Lithuania will not enter into negotiations with Moscow until both sides have signed a special protocol defining the conditions under which the talks will take place. Such a draft protocol had been drawn up in Lithuania somewhat earlier by a special commission which cooperates closely with eight expert panels.

Meanwhile there is no evidence that the Kremlin is making similar preparations. [passage omitted]

At present it seems very unlikely that all the three Baltic states will be able to start negotiations with the Kremlin, as the governments of these countries would very much wish. The three-plus-one formula is totally undesired by Moscow. However, there is hope that as soon as talks between Lithuania and the Kremlin start, negotiations with Latvia and Estonia will be hastened too. [passage omitted]

Baltic Council Issues Statement on Blockade

90UN2422F Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 10 Jul 90 p 2

[Statement issued by the leaders of the Baltic republics in Vilnius on 7 July: "Baltic States Council Statement"]

[Text] The Three Baltic countries—Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia—note with satisfaction that the leadership of the USSR has issued instructions with regard to the cessation of the economic blockade against Lithuania and suggest:

—that propaganda in the spirit of the cold war does not promote resolution of the question about mutual relations between the Baltic States and the USSR; and,

—no impediments whatsoever must be created for the Baltic States in their relations with their neighbors and the Western World. [Signed] A. Gorbunovs, Latvian Republic Supreme Soviet chairman;

V. Landsbergis, Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet chairman;
A. Ruutel, Estonian Republic Supreme Soviet chairman
[Dated] Vilnius, July 7, 1990.

30 Jul Lithuanian Supreme Council Session Carried

State Budget Law Debated

LD3007144390

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 1335 GMT on 30 July continues its live relay of the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius.

At 1335 GMT, deputies take a vote on some specific proposals by deputy Vagnoris concerning the law on joint stock companies—84 deputies vote in favor, two vote against, 11 abstain: the law is adopted, effective 1 August.

At 1240 GMT, Deputy K. Uoka takes the floor to nominate candidates for the post of deputy state controller. Eduardas Jonas Ginzelis is the first candidate proposed for the post.

At 1244 GMT, questions to the candidate. Heads of various commissions expressed their support to the candidate. A vote is taken: 93 deputies vote in favor with nobody against, and two abstain. By a majority of votes E. Ginzelis is elected deputy state controller.

At 1250 GMT, questions to the candidate.

At 1255 GMT, a vote taken: 96 deputies vote in favor, nobody votes against, and five deputies abstain. By a majority of votes K. Salkauskas is elected deputy state controller.

At 1300 GMT, Deputy Rudys takes the floor to present the law on the composition of the state budget of the Republic of Lithuania for the third reading. He informs the deputies about amendments introduced in the draft law which were based on the proposals of the deputies and specialists during the debates held on the first and second readings of the bill.

At 1312 GMT, there are debates on the draft law.

At 1323 GMT, deputies arrive at the conclusion that the draft law should be subject to some minor editing. This is followed by a proposal to postpone the debates on the draft law and to introduce amendements to the law on local government with regard to the structure of the education system. Aurimas Juozaitis, deputy minister of education, takes the floor to make a report. He says that some rayons abolished departments of culture and education at rayon executive committees. He also says that chairmen of local collective farms have a decisive say in the appointment of culture and education workers and that local government has to be responsible for the work of the sphere of culture and education by law and accountable to the ministry of culture and education. As a result of this, certain amendments to the law on local government have to be made.

At 1355 GMT, debates take place on the issue.

At 1408 GMT, amendments are formulated and a vote taken. By a majority of votes the proposed amendments are adopted.

The session is adjourned until 1445 GMT. After the break deputies will discuss amendments to two draft laws: draft law on enterprises and draft law on the government. Following this, debates on the composition of the state budget will be continued.

Cultural Heritage Debated

LD3107105990

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian continues its live relay of the 30 July Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius.

At 1445 GMT, after the break the Lithuanian Supreme Council session resumes work. Amendments to the provisional law on cultural heritage of the republic of lithuania are adopted.

The session also adopts supplements to some articles in the law on protection of historic and cultural monuments as well as amendments to Article 244 of the criminal code of the republic.

The session continues until approximately 1800 GMT.

31 Jul Lithuanian Supreme Council Session Carried

LD3107110290

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 0700 GMT on 31 July begins a live relay of the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius.

Janina Mecelicaite, program presenter at Lithuanian radio, announces from the Supreme Council building that the deputies will have to decide whether the plenary session should be broadcast or not. Therefore, Lithuanian radio will broadcast music until the matter is resolved.

Music is played.

At 0715 GMT, deputies decide that the plenary session should be broadcast live. Draft laws which concern the reform of the economy will be debated; there will also be debates on powers of the Presidium of the Supreme Council during the period of the recess of the Supreme Council. When the relay starts, Deputy Narcizas Rasimavicius speaks on this issue.

At 0723 GMT, Deputy Eduardas Vilkas takes the floor to speak about the draft law on the powers of the Presidium during the period of the recess of the parliament.

At 0730 GMT, Deputy Ceslovas Jursenas thinks that the government can cope with all problems during the recess and there is no need to adopt any special decisions.

At 0733 GMT, Vytautas Landsbergis describes all the possible dangers Lithuania is facing at present and proposes that more extensive powers should be granted to the praesidium during the recess or, maybe, there should not be any recess. (processing)

At 0743 GMT, other deputes speak for the adoption of this law, proposing that the deputies should not leave Lithuania during the recess. Some think that in case of necessity the parliament could be convened at six hours' notice.

At 0804 GMT, debates continue on the issue. Deputy Abisalas proposes to discontinue the heated debate on the issue for a time. When passions calm down the debate will continue.

At 0810 GMT, Deputy Vaitkevicius presents a draft law on the registration of enterprises.

Editing of the draft is in progress.

At 0825 GMT, debates continue on the draft.

At 0828 GMT, K.Prunskiene takes the floor. She wishes the deputies a good vacation and says that she would like the deputies to confirm Baldysius for the post of chairman of the Republican Bank and as third deputy prime minister. Staciokas is nominated by the prime minister as the candidate for the post. She says that many other candidates have been considered for this post, however, for some or other reasons these candidates cannot be nominated. The candidacy of Staciokas is the most suitable.

At 0833 GMT, the session is adjourned until 0900 GMT.

At 0900 GMT, there is music. The live relay is resumed at 0910 GMT. Editing of the draft law on the registration of enterprises continues.

At 0921 GMT, a vote is taken on the registration charges. Following this a vote is taken on the entire draft law. By a majority of votes the law on registration of enterprises is adopted.

At 0939 GMT, a vote is taken on the date of the law on registration of enterprises coming into force. By the majority of votes the decision is adopted.

At 0941 GMT, Deputy Vagnoris presents the draft law on state enterprises.

At 0947 GMT, questions are put to Deputy Vagnoris.

At 0950 GMT, there are debates on the draft law on state enterprises.

At 1002 GMT, R.Jasinevicius, minister of industry of the republic, takes the floor to voice his opinion on the draft law under discussion. He speaks about each paragraph of the draft individually. R.Jasinevicius supports the draft and invites the deputies to adopt the draft law.

At 1017 GMT, the minister concludes his report.

At 1018 GMT, Deputy Bronius Lubys voices his opinion on the draft, which is entirely the opposite to the opinion voiced by the minister. According to him, this law should not be adopted at all because state enterprises can successfully function without it.

At 1024 GMT, Deputy Vagnoris takes the floor to defend the proposal to discuss the draft law. He says that "winter is coming and no doubt yet another embargo is approaching too. If state enterprises do not have the right by law to establish private direct contacts with other enterprises, then these enterprises would not be able to function successfully".

At 1034 GMT, some deputies propose to postpone the debate on the draft because there is not enough time to consider each of the numerous proposals advanced by the deputies. Following this, a vote is taken on the proposal to begin the procedure of adopting the draft law—58 deputies vote in favor and 3 deputies vote against. By the majority of votes it is decided to start the debates again and to adopt the draft law on state enterprises.

At 1038 GMT, the session is adjourned until 1200 GMT.

Landsbergis Speaks on Draft 'Special Powers' Law

LD3107094590 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0733 GMT 31 Jul 90

[Speech by Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis on draft laws granting special powers to the Supreme Council Presidium, at a Supreme Council session in Vilnius—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed colleagues, deputies: The idea of this law, in my mind, is rational and understandable in light of the special situation in which we live. [passage omitted]

Life is very concrete, and I would be troubled to have an interval of one month in the work of the Supreme Council in the conditions under which we live. It is not difficult to imagine that on the eve of the intended negotiations, a great deal is being done to soften our position in these negotiations, so that we are more yielding. During the last few months we have seen very brutal acts of coercion and threats, and attempts to undermine stability in Lithuania. [passage omitted]

Esteemed Deputy Vilkas stated that nothing could happen in one month's time. It would be nice if we all could say this. I could not say it. We have examples of what is being done in Estonia. Perhaps steps may be taken of economic subversion and integration of the Estonian integral type. This may be acts of coercion toward Lithuania young people. In this situation, unfortunately, it must be said, not every official may be 100 percent loyal to the Republic of Lithuania. Perhaps, where we are threatened, there may be Lithuania's territorial disintegration. Deputy Rasimavicius mentioned Klaipeda. Incitements are taking place there. There are incitements among people lacking awareness in Kaliningrad oblast, where it is alleged that Lithuania's territory should belong to them. [passage indistinct]

Perhaps you have read leaflets urging the formation of fighting groups, to which boys of 14 years of age could belong, in the Vilnius area. One could list many promised and imaginary provocations.

We can discuss here whether such a law, valid for one month, means an amendment to the constitution or not, whether we must have a two thirds majority of an ordinary majority in voting for this law. We can make a decision, we can vote. We must think about our responsibility when we recess for one month without leaving special powers to the Presidium. [passage omitted]

Yesterday, Deputy Pangonis proposed not to have a recess and to continue working in August. Maybe he joked, but it is a rational thought. If we make such a decision in view of the present situation, we would not be people without sense, irrespective of the fact that we are tired and need a rest.

I would like to discuss a second version, too. The second version would grant special powers to the Presidium for one month. A third version would be not to do anything, not to take any protective measures. [passage omitted]

Landsbergis Describes Moscow Talks Preparations

LD3007214790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2038 GMT 30 Jul 90

[Interview with V. Landsbergis, Lithuanian Supreme Council chairman, by an unidentified correspondent at the Lithuanian Supreme Council Presidium session in Vilnius on 30 July; from the "Television News Service" program—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Today, at the same time as the Lithuanian parliament, there were sessions of the Supreme Council Presidium and the republic Council of Ministers. On the agenda was the question ofthe delegation to the [Moscow] talks.

[Correspondent] When do you think talks might start?

[V. Landsbergis] When they are fully prepared, when they are mature. As far as cooperation between the groups of experts is concerned, a note was sent from our side five days ago, I think, to Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov. So far no reply has been received.

[Correspondent] In my view, the talks with the Union and the Russian Federation are somehow interlinked?

[Landsbergis] Well, they may be interlinked, they may be parallel, because certain questions need to to be solved both there and here, and in my opinion one does not hamper the other. Three days ago there was a meeting between the three chairmen of the Baltic countries and Boris Yeltsin, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Chairman. There we also discussed certain, what one might even call procedural questions, as to how to approach, how to begin and which documents should first be signed with Russia.

[Announcer] It is anticipated that the question of preparing a dialogue between the leadership of the Union and Lithuania will be one of the main ones at tomorrow's session of the Lithuanian parliament. [video shows brief glimpse of session and interview with Landsbergis]

Lithuania's Ozalas Says Talks 'Non-Productive'

LD3007164190 Moscow TASS in English 1607 GMT 30 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondent Kazis Uscilla]

[Text] Vilnius July 30 TASS— The past week was non-productive, Deputy Lithuanian Prime Minister Romualdas Ozolas told local television on Sunday [29 July], commenting on talks between Lithuania and Moscow.

Lithuanian officials completed editing the transcript of talks with the Soviet Government and set the tasks for experts and commissions, he said.

The breakaway Baltic republic has set up a commission to prepare for talks with the Soviet Union, led by a deputy chairman of the republican parliament.

Lithuania has agreed to suspend its March 11 declaration of independence for 100 days after the beginning of talks with Moscow.

Social tensions have worsened in the republic over the past week, in part due to documents passed by the parliament, including a bill allowing farmers to take plots of land of 2-3 hectares, Ozolas said.

A debate on trade union property and taxes for creative workers increased popular dissatisfaction.

"Debates and simmering passions can break what unity remains," Ozolas said.

Landsbergis Greets RSFSR Representatives

90UN2422A Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 12 Jul 90 p 1

[ELTA (Lithuanian Press Agency) report from Vilnius on 11 July: "Meeting With RSFSR Representatives"]

[Text] Today a meeting took place in the Republic Supreme Soviet between Republic Supreme Soviet leaders and representatives and Russian Federation delegations who arrived for events dedicated to the 70th Anniversary of the July 20, 1920 Peace Treaty between Lithuania and Russia.

Among the arriving guests was RSFSR Supreme Soviet Deputy Chairman and Chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities Ramazan Abdulatipov, RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Member and Chairman of the Russian Democratic Party Nikolay Travkin, deputies of the Leningrad, Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk, Orlovskiy, and Tomsk Oblast Soviets of People's Deputies, and representatives of democratic movements.

Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet Chairman Vytautis Landsbergis cordially welcomed the guests. He talked about the Supreme Soviet's work to assert Lithuania's independence and talked about the opportunities for cooperation with the Russian Federation in the sphere of political, economic, and cultural life.

R. Abdulatipov conveyed RSFSR Supreme Soviet Chairman Boris Yeltsin's congratulations. He expressed confidence that the Russian and Lithuanian peoples will always maintain the good neighbor relations that have accompanied them even during the most difficult periods of history. Other guests who spoke at the meeting said many kind words about the efforts of the Lithuanian people to affirm their Republic's independence.

Lithuanian Republic Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene thanked the Russian Federation representatives for the assistance which their collectives rendered to Lithuania during the blockade. The contacts that have sprung up will undoubtedly be broadened and they will become the foundation of reliable economic cooperation between the Lithuanian Republic and the RSFSR.

Deputy Supreme Soviet Chairmen Bronislovas Kuzmickas and Kazimieras Motieka, Vice-Premier Romualdas Ozolas, Supreme Soviet Presidium members, and deputies also participated in the meeting.

Lithuanians Form Commission for USSR Talks

90UN2422B Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 13 Jul 90 p 1

[Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet resolution presented by Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet Chairman V. Landsbergis in Vilnius on 11 July: "Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet Resolution On the Commission on Political, Legal, and Diplomatic Preparations for Negotiations with the USSR"]

[Text] In execution of the resolution "On Preparations for Inter-State Negotiations with the USSR" dated July 5, 1990, the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. To form a commission on political, legal, and diplomatic preparations composed of the following individuals:

B. Kuzmickas, P. Kuris, K. Lapinskas, K. Motieka, R. Ozolas, A. Rudys, A. Sakalas, A. Saudargas, G. Serksnys, G. Vagnorius.

2. To authorize the commission on political, legal, and diplomatic preparations in cooperation with the coordinating commission on preparations for negotiations with the USSR and its republics that has been formed by the government:

2.1. To form appropriate expert and specialized parliamentary-government working groups, to determine their powers, and to submit them for approval of the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet.

2.2. To discuss the fundamental political, legal, and economic provisions of negotiations between the Lithuanian Republic and the USSR and the principles of their interrelationship and to submit these documents to the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet prior to July 25, 1990.

2.3. To discuss the draft protocol (act) about the initiation, goals, and conditions of negotiations between the Lithuanian Republic and the USSR and to submit it to the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet.

2.4. To analyze and summarize the information accumulated during the course of conducting conferences and during contacts between departments of the Lithuanian Republic and the USSR. To periodically report on this to the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet.

3. To authorize the commission on political, legal, and diplomatic preparations to coordinate materials published by Lithuanian institutes and officials that are associated with problems of mutual relations between the Lithuanian Republic and the USSR.

4. To point out that none of the commissions on preparations for negotiations or working groups mentioned in paragraph two of this resolution will conduct inter-state negotiations between the Lithuanian Republic and the USSR in any form. [Signed] V. Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet
[Dated] Vilnius, 11 July 1990

Decree Implementing Formation of Commission

90UN2422C Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 13 Jul 90 p 1

[Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet Resolution: "Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet Resolution On Formation of a State Delegation for Inter-State Negotiations Between the Lithuanian Republic and the USSR"]

[Text] The Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet resolves:

To authorize Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet Chairman V. Landsbergis and Lithuanian Republic Prime Minister K. Prunskiene to begin formation of a state delegation on inter-state negotiations between the Lithuanian Republic and the USSR. This delegation, approved by the Supreme Soviet, will be authorized by a separate resolution to sign a protocol about the initiation, goals, and conditions of negotiations, and also will begin negotiations and conduct them. [Signed] V. Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet
[Dated] Vilnius, 11 July 1990

Lithuanian Appeal to USSR on Incorporation

90UN2422D Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 13 Jul 90 p 1

[Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet Appeal to the USSR Supreme Soviet: "Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet Appeal to the USSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] The Lithuanian State that was formed in the 13th century became the object of division between neighboring countries at the end of the 18th century and a large portion of Lithuania was made part of the Russian Empire for 120 years.

On February 16, 1918, the Lithuanian people reestablished the Lithuanian State and defended its independence in battle.

Seventy years ago, on July 12, 1920, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic and the Lithuanian Republic concluded a peace treaty among themselves.

Through this treaty, Russia unconditionally recognized the independence of the Lithuanian State and renounced all of Russia's sovereign rights over the Lithuanian people and its territory for time immemorial, having specially stressed the fact that Lithuania's former dependence on Russia did not impose any obligations on the Lithuanian people or its territory with regard to Russia. Russia also was obliged to observe Lithuania's permanent neutrality.

Treaties subsequently concluded between the Lithuanian Republic and the Soviet Union confirmed the continuity and inviolability of the agreements of the Peace Treaty dated July 12, 1920.

Legitimate good neighbor relations between the Lithuanian Republic and the Soviet Union were maintained until the summer of 1939 when Lithuania once again became the object of division between the USSR and Germany who concluded secret deals on "spheres of influence" among themselves.

The 2nd USSR Congress of People's Deputies in a December 24, 1989 resolution "On a Political and Legal Assessment of the Soviet-German Nonaggression Treaty of 1939" pointed out that in accordance with the treaties the USSR and Lithuania were obliged to mutually respect each other's sovereignty, territorial integrity, and inviolability under all circumstances, however the USSR violated these obligations. The congress admitted that the deal between the USSR and Germany was illegal.

The 2nd USSR Congress of People's Deputies Resolution is perceived as the Soviet Union's attempt to become a rule-of-law state and is ready to eliminate the consequences of treaty violations that forcibly included Lithuania in the USSR in June 1940 and subsequently imparted false legitimacy to the Law of the USSR dated August 3, 1940.

The Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet appeals to the USSR Supreme Soviet to repeal the illegal law on the

inclusion of Lithuania in the USSR dated August 3, 1940 and for the restoration, through negotiations, of legal inter-state relations whose basis is the Peace Treaty of 1920. [Signed] V. Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet
[Dated] Vilnius, 12 July 1990

Lithuanian Appeal to RSFSR on Sovereignty

90UN2422E Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 13 Jul 90 p 1

[Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet appeal: "Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet Appeal to the Peoples of the Russian Federation and to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] The fates of the Russian and Lithuanian peoples have intersected each other for many centuries. The similarity of the fates of our peoples and states that have existed next to each other was foreordained by joys and misfortunes and by many centuries of economic and humanitarian relations and bonds. History was ordered in such a way that the Russian Empire ruled a large portion of Lithuanian territory for more than 100 years.

The movement of national revival at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries promoted consolidation of the idea of national liberation in the consciousness of the Lithuanian people and prepared the ground for renewal of an independent Lithuanian State that highly values A. Gertsen's immortal words: "For your and our freedom." Russian democrats supported and perceived with empathy our desire to restore the Lithuanian State. Our aspirations were realized on February 16, 1918.

Russia recognized the independence of the Lithuanian State and renounced for time immemorial its sovereign rights over the Lithuanian people and its territory through the peace treaty signed 70 years ago—July 12, 1920. This treaty laid the foundation for truly equal relations between our states. Its fundamental provisions have not lost their timeliness even in our days.

The people of Lithuania have always distinguished and distinguish superpower policy from the aspirations of the Russian and other peoples to attain freedom and democracy.

Let the celebration of this historical date promote the development of cooperation between our peoples and states and strengthen sovereignty and good neighbor relations. [Signed] V. Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet
[Dated] Vilnius, 12 July 1990.

Lithuanian Parliament Passes Pension Bill

LD2807193490 Moscow TASS in English 1842 GMT 28 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondent Serafim Bykhun]

[Text] Vilnius July 28 TASS—The Lithuanian parliament passed a new pension bill today.

The law will enter into force on December 1. It envisages so-called social pensions for those who do not have a working record. Women will be getting pensions at the age of 55 years old and men—at 60 .

Resistance fighters and rehabilitated persons will get pensions equalling those of world war two invalids.

Lawmakers were informed about the setting up of expert teams for talks with the Soviet Union on economic issues, citizens' rights, the status of the Soviet Armed Forces in Lithuania, border control, political and diplomatic contacts, transport and communications, culture, finances, banks and credits. The question will be discussed at a closed meeting on July 30.

Deputies were also informed about documents passed by the Baltic Council today.

Deputies Discuss Estonian 'Pro-Unity' Congress

90UN2147A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 29 May 90 p 1

[Article by R. Baleva: "Confrontation"]

[Text] A congress of deputies of all levels who espouse the position of unity of the Soviet Federation was convened 26 May in Kohtla-Jarve. It resulted in the establishment of the Interregional Council of People's Deputies and Workers of the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] and the Economic Council—in other words, as I understand it, a Supreme Soviet of the northeastern region of Estonia and part of Tallinn and its Council of Ministers. The Interregional Council will be guided by the Constitutions of the Estonian SSR and USSR. It is to be considered a temporary organization, functioning during the transition period from today's social system to tomorrow's, whatever that may come to be. Its structure: a Council of Elders and two equal houses—a House of Deputies of Local Soviets and a House of Representatives of Labor Collectives, having 25 members each. Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Deputy V. Lebedev became chairman of the Interregional Council, V. Kuznetsov—chairman of the Soviets of All Levels, S. Petinov—chairman of the Council of Elders, A. Say—chairman of the House of Representatives of Labor Collectives, and V. Yarovoy was confirmed by the congress as chairman of the Estonian SSR Economic Council.

As stated in the Regulations on the Interregional Council, its purpose is to ensure the functioning of all-Union constitutional and other legal norms while simultaneously protecting regional production interests, provide stable development of the republic's economic complex on the basis of firm ties with the USSR market and solid material-technical supply channels, and safeguard the rights and civil dignity of the entire population of Estonia. The Council is formed on the territorial-production principle, with the stipulation of execution of the laws adopted by Union and republic organs which do not contradict the USSR Basic Law or the interests of the workers. It is based on maintaining the integrity of the Union and striving to achieve interethnic harmony in the republic, taking into account the rights and interests of the entire Estonian population.

The Interregional Council registers the laws of the USSR and Estonian SSR and ensures conditions for their execution, forms permanently functioning working commissions, monitors the accomplishment of adopted resolutions and directs the activity of the Economic Council, and maintains permanent ties with leading organs of the country and the republic, etc. It is financed through allotments of enterprises and local soviets which support its aims and basic principles of activity.

The Economic Council is designated to become the executive organ of the Interregional Council of People's Deputies and Workers of the Estonian SSR. It must effect implementation of the programs of economic and social development adopted by the council.

The Economic Council is comprised of eight main committees and administrations—on economic development, housing and social construction, resources, ecology and public health, culture and education, food products and ties between industry and agriculture, financial and budgetary matters, legality and law and order, and trade.

Two regional economic councils have been formed—the Tallinn Council, which also coordinates the activities of Ispolkoms [Executive Committees] of Paldiski City Soviet and Loksa Settlement Soviet, and the Northeast Council, for the Ispolkoms of the City Soviets of Narva, Sillamae, and Kohtla-Jarve.

The Economic Council pursues the policy of the USSR president, USSR Congress of People's Deputies, and the decisions of republic organs directed toward expanding the independence of labor collectives, increasing the number of enterprises, and protecting the interests of consumers from possible price increases.

Having created the Interregional Council and Economic Council from among its delegates, the congress resolved: "to direct the council prior to 1 July 1990 to propose a legislative initiative on a referendum to the USSR Supreme Soviet. To conduct a referendum on the state status of Estonia in accordance with the law, and appoint a commission with the aim of conducting consultations with leading organs of the country on matters dealing with the stabilization of political and economic life and safeguarding the functioning of the USSR Constitution in the territory of the republic."

Appeals to the First Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies and a declaration on civil peace in Estonia were adopted.

I have tried to describe in as detailed and documentary a manner as possible the aims, principles, and program which have been adopted by the first congress of deputies at all levels who espouse the positions of unity of the Soviet Federation. Consciously refraining from providing my own commentary, I would like to supplement this material with statements by a number of deputies and guests of the congress regarding the event taking place. The reader may draw his own conclusions.

V. Yarovoy: This congress is not a chance occurrence but rather the expected, natural result of the interethnic policies of the present Estonian government, ignoring the interests of the Russian-speaking population of the republic. We did not go to the congress of our own accord—we were led here. For two years we strived to be heard, using all possible methods in this regard—rallies, statements at the congress and sessions, meetings with republic leaders, appeals, and, finally, strikes. The Committee for the Defense of Soviet Power and Workers' Civil Rights has exhausted its functions. It was not empowered with directive authority and fulfilled merely a coordinating role. It therefore gives up its powers today to a new directive structure, which will be elected at the congress. Creation of the new structure in no way means we desire to take away state power from the present government of Estonia. These will be organs providing for the functioning of enterprises and ispolkoms that desire to remain within the framework of a renewed federation. We will seek compromises in our relations with the republic leadership. The new structure is temporary. When the political situation in the republic stabilizes, it will unravel by itself.

S. Petinov, deputy of the Estonian Republic Supreme Soviet: We must create organs which in no way appear as alternatives to the existing Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet but which will be able to realize our right to self-determination and sovereignty of the people in the territory where our electorate live and work. The newly created organs, I repeat, are not intended to engage in confrontation with the authority that exists in the republic. Today's documents on the Interregional Council and Economic Council are the product of extensive argument, discussion, and coordination.

O. Sullakatko, general director of the "Estonslanets" Association: I knew nothing of the decision to establish a new Economic Council at this congress. I was a witness to the creation of Self-Managing Estonia and I believe that then as well as now this all amounts merely to political slogans with nothing to support them. There are no serious economic calculations behind them.

A. Kuznetsov, Estonian Republic minister:

My statement today is not given in the capacity of minister but as a citizen and organizer of the Tartu Democratic Movement for Civil Peace. I believe this concept should unite the entire population of the republic without regard to nationality. There is great interest in this movement. We are like fishermen who must wait patiently—the concept will inevitably be assimilated by the masses.

V. Lebedev, deputy of the Estonian Republic Supreme Soviet: According to the words of our respected minister A. Kuznetsov, the government lacked the funds to organize a universal referendum on the question of Estonia's secession from the Union—when 22 million rubles was found for expanding the government apparatus! I am afraid the first unemployed will appear not in Tallinn but right in the northeast—since the government perspective envisions creation of an economic zone here with transfer of basic enterprise funds to the hands of private capital...

N. Zakharov, deputy of the Estonian Republic Supreme Soviet, summed up the statements made by the deputies and repeated, in principle, what V. Yarovoy had stated—that "the congress is not a chance occurrence; it is a natural event and we arrived at it following a logical path."

In my opinion, the congress asked more questions than it supplied answers. Our publication will therefore continue this discussion.

Estonian Interregional Council Regulations

90UN2147B Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII in Russian 1 Jun 90 p 2

[Regulations adopted by the first congress of people's deputies of all levels and labor collective delegates of the Estonian SSR: "On the Interregional Council of People's Deputies and Workers of the Estonian SSR"]

[Text] The confrontation which has continued between social forces of the republic and attempts of the Supreme Soviet to unilaterally thrust upon the Union Federation its own solution to the problems of altering the state status of Estonia makes it necessary to form new organs to protect the economic, political, and social interests of USSR citizens in Estonia. The Interregional Council operates on the basis of the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Constitution and the USSR Constitution. There exists no historical analogy with regard to extricating ourselves from the situation which has developed, and this explains the search for nonstandard solutions in this exceedingly contradictory situation.

1. Basic Aims and Principles

The Interregional Council of People's Deputies and Workers of the Estonian SSR safeguards the functioning of all-Union, constitutional, and other legal norms, and protects regional production interests. At the same time, it is called upon to provide for stable development of the republic's economic complex on the basis of solid ties with the Union market and reliable material- technical supply channels, and to safeguard the rights and civil dignity of the entire Estonian population.

Formation of the Interregional Council of People's Deputies and Workers of the Estonian SSR is built on the following principles of legislative initiative:

—the territorial-production principle of uniting regions and labor collectives which espouse the position of observing the USSR Constitution and renewing federative relations;

—the need to take note of laws and normative acts adopted by Union and republic organs which contradict the USSR Basic Law and the interests of workers;

—rendering assistance to USSR state organs in safeguarding legality, maintaining law and order in the republic, and fulfilling ukases of the USSR president;

—supporting the integrity of the Union and not permitting changes in borders to the detriment of the interests of the Estonian SSR and USSR;

—striving to reach interethnic accord in the republic, taking into account the rights and legitimate interests of the entire Estonian population;

—opposing any decrease in the standard of living of the population and fighting unemployment.

2. Structure

The Interregional Council of People's Deputies and Workers of the Estonian SSR is formed at the congress of people's deputies of all levels and delegates elected from labor collectives. The congress forms the Interregional Council, which consists of a Council of Elders and two equal houses—the House of Deputies of Local Soviets and the House of Representatives of Labor Collectives, each comprising 25 individuals. The congress elects the chairman of the Interregional Council as well as the chairmen of the houses, who serve as his deputies by virtue of their job position.

Upon declaration of the chairman of the Interregional Council of People's Deputies and Workers of the Estonian SSR, the congress confirms the chairman of the Economic Council. At its session, the Interregional Council confirms members of the Economic Council, the executive organ which exercises operational direction and coordinates activity in the implementation of resolutions and programs of economic and social development which have been adopted by the Interregional Council.

3. Functions

The Interregional Council of People's Deputies and Workers of the Estonian SSR:

—adopts resolutions, setting as its aim unification of the efforts of local soviets of certain cities and settlements as well as labor collectives in the progressive development of the economic, social, and spiritual spheres, and in the observance of socialist legality;

—participates in the formation and allocation of the republic budget;

—forms permanently functioning working commissions, including commissions on coordinating interests with republic or Union organs;

—exercises supervision of the execution of adopted resolutions and directs the activity of the Economic Council;

—participates in consultations with Union organs in resolving vitally important issues, including drawing up a Union treaty;

—maintains permanent ties with leading organs of the republic and the country.

4. Legal Bases

The Interregional Council of People's Deputies and Workers of the Estonian SSR is formed in accordance with the democratic will of the population of certain regions and labor collectives. It finds its basis in the Estonian SSR Constitution and USSR Constitution, as well as in current legislative acts. The Interregional Council operates within a framework of competence delegated by the soviets of all levels and labor collectives which support it.

5. Financial Bases

The Interregional Council of People's Deputies and Workers of the Estonian SSR has the status of corporate person and is financed through allotments of the enterprises and local soviets which support its aims and basic principles of activity, and from other sources.

Conditions of Self-Dissolution

In the event the political environment in the republic is normalized, the congress of deputies of all levels and labor collective delegates of the Estonian SSR, espousing the unity of the Soviet Federation, may take a decision by a two-thirds majority of votes to dissolve the Interregional Council.

Adopted by the first congress of people's deputies of all levels and labor collective delegates of the Estonian SSR.

Estonian Declaration on Civil Peace

90UN2147D Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII in Russian 1 Jun 90 p 2

[Declaration "On Civil Peace in Estonia," adopted by the first congress of people's deputies of all levels and labor collective delegates of the Estonian SSR]

[Text] A group of politicians, in a consistent and unswerving effort to achieve its ends, has used a majority in the highest legislative organ of the republic to essentially effect a coup d'etat. This has naturally evoked sharp resistance on the part of a significant portion of the population.

Political tension in Estonia, to which an interethnic nature is artificially ascribed, has reached the threshold of civil war. This has come about as the result of a skillful propagandistic indoctrination of a portion of the population instilling, first of all, that state independence outside the USSR is the sole guarantee of satisfying its national and social interests and achieving economic prosperity, and, secondly, that another portion of the population is alien and inimical to its aspirations in political, economic, and state life, and that for precisely this reason the rights of this other portion of the population must be limited by a series of essentially degrading conditions, putting these people in the position of strangers in their own land.

This second portion of the population naturally cannot concur with the fate which is in store, when international legal norms and the world practice of democratic transformation of state structure are ignored, when political and economic ties formed over decades are bursting in crude fashion, when intra-Union and international interests are not taken into account, nor the opinion of the people, in whose name the coup has allegedly been effected. Such a development of events compels this portion of the population to tie in its expectations and aspirations with the renewed Soviet Federation.

Thus the inhabitants of the republic are artificially divided into two opposing groups. There are no objective reasons for such a confrontation. The adventurist policy of the politicians who have seized power does not serve the vital interests of anyone except a certain small group which has set personal well-being as its goal.

The split in society and the national confrontation we see have not given, and cannot give, anything to the workers.

Expressing the opinion of its electorate, the congress declares that we have never denied and do not now deny the right of the people of the republic to self-determination and to secession of the republic from the USSR. But resolution of this issue is the right of the entire multiethnic people of the republic, which fact follows directly from Articles 1 and 2 of the "International Pact on Civil and Political Rights" of 16 December 1966 and from Article 72 of the USSR Constitution. Only through universal vote (referendum), as envisaged by Article 5 of the USSR Constitution and the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Constitution, is resolution of the issue on secession of the republic from the USSR permissible.

We propose:

1. That the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet:

—fulfill the ukases of the USSR president and repeal—or suspend as a minimum—all laws, resolutions, and declarations adopted since 30 March 1990 in violation of the USSR and Estonian SSR Constitutions, and declare a moratorium on the adoption of political decisions on which there are disagreements of principle in the republic Supreme Soviet, and also on matters which affect the interests of the USSR and other Union republics;

—begin a dialogue with USSR federative organs of authority and involve representatives of the main parties and organizations of workers in this dialogue;

—prior to the end of 1990, present for universal popular discussion (referendum) the question of the state-political status of the republic, including the matter of secession from the USSR, adopting prior to conduct of this referendum a law on referendums in the Estonian SSR, involving in the development of this law representatives of the main parties and organizations which represent the interests of various segments of the population;

—form within the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet a public consultative Council of National Accord and Civil Peace, whose members are delegated by all labor collectives, parties, religious communities, ethnic-cultural societies, social organizations, and other associations of citizens;

—proceed in its further work from a priority of universal human values, ensuring equal rights and freedoms and the opportunity of exercising these for every citizen of the Estonian SSR on the basis of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, generally acknowledged international legal norms, the USSR Constitution and the Estonian SSR Constitution.

2. That the government of the republic:

—repeal the decree of 16 May of this year on the formation of the organization "Eesti Kodukaytse," and ban detachments of "Kaytseliyta" and workers' self-defense detachments;

—develop the republic economy on the basis of diversity in forms of ownership, a regulated market, competition, democratization, and decentralization of the entire financial and economic system, designing it from bottom to top with full economic and financial independence within the framework of the law for enterprises, cities, rayons, regions, and the republic.

3. That all parties, associations of citizens, and labor collectives suspend the conduct of street processions, pickets, and demonstrations.

4. That in order to enhance the operational effectiveness of the agroindustrial complex of the republic, industrial enterprises belonging to the Interregional Council of People's Deputies and Workers of the Estonian SSR conclude direct agreements on economic ties with state and collective farms, and other agricultural enterprises in need of special economic and social support.

This declaration is presented for the discussion of all inhabitants of Estonia and is proposed as a basis for establishing civil peace in the Estonian SSR and for bringing the republic out of its crisis state.

Adopted by the first congress of people's deputies of all levels and labor collective delegates of the Estonian SSR.

Latvian Delegation Leaves for Russia 30 Jul

LD3007195790 Moscow TASS in English 1808 GMT 30 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondent Galina Kuchina]

[Text] Riga July 30 TASS— A Latvian delegation that will set the stage for treaties between this Baltic republic and Russia left for Moscow today.

Commissions led by deputy chairmen of Latvian and Russian parliaments are scheduled to begin work on two draft treaties on Tuesday [31 July].

The decision to begin preparations for the treaties was taken by the Baltic Council at a July 27 meeting in the Latvian resort city of Jurmala.

The meeting was attended by presidents of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, as well as Russian President Boris N. Yeltsin, spending his vacation in Jurmala.

The sides discussed the details of their bilateral agreements.

First, each of the three Baltic republics will sign a political and legal accord with Russia. Each accord will be signed by heads of parliaments.

Latvia's treaty with Russia will be based on its declaration of independence, Latvian President Anatolijs Gorbunovs said.

Lithuania's and Estonia's treaties will differ little from the Latvian version, he said. The sides agreed not to attach any preliminary strings to the treaties.

The republics are also expected to sign another treaty, on economic, scientific-technical, social, cultural and ethnic relations and citizenship issues. These treaties will be signed by prime ministers.

The Latvian delegation is expected to bring to Moscow a package of proposals, including measures to expand inter-republican trade.

The two commissions are expected to work jointly for 1,5-2 months.

Commenting on the results of the session of the Baltic Council, and the decision of the three Baltic republics not to take part in the development of a new USSR union accord, Gorbunovs said:

"Latvia's talks with the centre have stalemated, whereas relations with Russia are taking on a constructive turn."

Latvian Stance on Union Treaty, Baltic Council

PM3007145990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent Irina Litvinova under the rubric "Direct Link": "On the Attitude Toward the Union Treaty"]

[Text] Riga—The Latvian Supreme Soviet Presidium has adopted the resolution "On the Attitude To Participation in the Elaboration and Adoption of the Union Treaty."

The document states that the Latvian Republic's plenipotentiary representatives do not consider it possible to participate in the elaboration and adoption of the Union treaty. First, "the 4 May 1990 declaration restoring the independence of the Latvian Republic defined its status as an independent state," and, second, it is deemed necessary to "build all further relations with the USSR on the basis of the peace treaty of 11 August 1920 between Russia and Latvia." Third, the desire is expressed to "maintain equitable and friendly relations with the USSR, its Union republics, other state formations within the USSR, and other states." The document also points out that one of the reasons for the impossibility of participating in the Union treaty is the fact that "treaties with the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and the Moldova Soviet Socialist Republic are in the process of being prepared for conclusion, as well as the treaties already concluded with the Lithuanian and Estonian Republics."

The Baltic Council session began in Jurmala 27 July. B. Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, is participating in it together with the Supreme Soviet chairmen of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. The meeting is taking place in a confidential atmosphere. Journalists have been told that a joint communique is expected to be adopted at its close.

Latvian Supreme Soviet Enters Last Week of Work

LD3107075190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2038 GMT 30 Jul 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Today the last week in the work of the first session of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian Republic started. Sergey Antsupov reports from Riga.

[Antsupov] And now we will sum up the results of the day. Today the examination of three issues which were not examined at the plenary session was planned. They were all postponed until tomorrow. They were the draft law on the rehabilitation of individuals who were unlawfully repressed, and the draft law and decision connected with the activity of people's control in our republic. Nevertheless the law on the change in the civil code relating to amendments and additions to the constitution regarding property was confirmed in the first reading. Also confirmed was the working group—and its membership—set up to work out a conception for the development of Latgale.

RSFSR

Yakut Elaborates Draft Sovereignty Declaration

LD3007184790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 30 Jul 90

[Text] The Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR] Supreme Soviet standing commissions, together with scientists, jurists, and practical workers have elaborated a draft declaration on the state sovereignty of the Yakut ASSR, and a Yakut ASSR law on delimiting plenipotentiary powers between the Yakut ASSR, the USSR, and the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR]. The draft laws have been elaborated to enhance the status of the autonomous republic which, within the framework of the RSFSR, will act as a sovereign state.

On the basis of a joint treaty the Yakut ASSR delegates its own defined powers to the RSFSR and USSR. The drafts were recently published in the republican press and are being widely discussed by the population.

RSFSR Deputy Minister Interviewed on Harvest

LD3007214190

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1750 GMT on 30 July carries a 10-minute "Topical Interview" with Gennadiy Vasilyuevich Kulik, first deputy chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) Council of Ministers and RSFSR minister of agriculture and food.

Kulik begins with an update on the harvest in the RSFSR: Krasnodar Kray has completed its grain harvest, with a yield of 54 quintals per hectare (q/ha) against 41 q/ha last year; Stavropol Kray is completing the harvest, with a yield of 36 q/ha, against 31 q/ha; in Volgograd Oblast about 25 percent has been harvested, with a yield of 27 q/ha, against 20 q/ha last year.

Kulik goes on to comment on Yeltsin's appeal to the agricultural workers of the RSFSR, published on 26 July, and the remainder of the interview is devoted to replies to questions concerning the RSFSR Council of Ministers resolution on urgent measures to increase purchases of agricultural produce from the 1990 harvest and ensure its safe storage, published on 28 July.

Concerning the latter document, the interviewer asks how much it will cost to provide the goods to back up the harvest-90 checks promised for good work in this year's harvest. Kulik replies, about 10-12 billion rubles.

Pressed as to where this money is to come from, Kulik says: "Well, we understand that it is unrealistic to find such a quantity of deficit goods on our internal market. We understand that just by carrying out a redistribution, say, between the town and the countryside this problem cannot be resolved, we understand this very well, and so, the government is currently also seeking unusual approaches so as to attract goods by way of import."

The interviewer continues: "But will the government find them, don't you understand that you can suffer a huge fiasco by making promises and not delivering the goods? This will be the first and most important defeat for Russia's new government." Kulik replies: "We are aware of this. Believe me, it has been examined with great care."

Gorbachev Concerned About Flood Relief Effort

PM3007152790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Jul 90 First Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent Lieutenant Colonel V. Kovalev under the rubric "We Report the Details": "After the Flood"]

[Text] The mighty flood wave which swept down the rivers great and small of the Transbaykal region in July has finally expended its destructive force. More than 2,500 homes, 120,000 hectares of grain crops, and large areas of potato and vegetable fields were flooded either completely or partially. Almost 150 bridges, hundreds of kilometers of roads, and power and communications lines were destroyed. Whole regions of Chita Oblast were without electricity or clean water for over a week. The floods swept through many homes in Chita. Five people died.

Intensive work is being conducted in the oblast to remove the after-effects of the natural disaster. It is not easy for the Transbaykal people—the scale of the disaster that befell them is too great. The housing problem is acute—thousands of people have been left homeless...

In the current situation much depends on help from the center.

On 24 July there was a telephone conversation between USSR President M.S. Gorbachev and N.I. Malkov, chairman of the oblast soviet and first secretary of the Chita Oblast CPSU Committee. Mikhail Sergeyevich asked about progress in the work to clear up the aftereffects of the natural disaster and about the paramount needs of the Transbaykal people. He also asked what part soldiers from the Transbaykal Military District are taking in this work. Nikolay Ivanovich Malkov told the president that the military were among the first to join the fight against the elements. They evacuated around 4,000 people from the flood zone on amphibious transporters and armored personnel carriers and transported hundreds of tonnes of diverse freight. At present two specially formed motorized engineering and construction subunits are working to rebuild bridges destroyed by the floods. The country's president expressed satisfaction at this fact and wished the Transbaykal people success in clearing up the aftereffects of the natural calamity.

At the district's engineering directorate I was told that the motorized construction company commanded by Major K. Baruzdin, which is working in Duldurginskiy Rayon, has already commissioned a 26-meter bridge and has begun rebuilding a 36-meter bridge in Taptanay village. In all the engineers will build or repair over 200 meters of bridges.

Polozkov Meets Russian Komsomol Leaders

PM3007130190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Jul 90 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Meeting Held"]

[Text] I.K. Polozkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party Central Committee, met members of the RSFSR Komsomol [Lenin Communst Youth League] Central Committee Bureau and secretaries of several Komsomol obkoms [oblast committees] 27 July. I.K. Polozkov spoke about the progress of preparations for the second stage of the Russian communists' consituent congress. A detailed and keen conversation developed about problems perturbing Russia's Komsomol and young people. The forms and directions of cooperation and collaboration between the party and the Komsomol were discussed.

Judges Distanced From Local Party Organization

PM3007093990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Mikhail Ovcharov: "CPSU Membership Suspended"]

[Text] Yaroslavl—A party meeting of Yaroslavl's Leninskiy Rayon Court has unanimously decided to suspend CPSU membership for people's judges—and there are four of them here—for the duration of the execution of their duties.

"I make no secret of the fact," court representative A. Chirkov told me, "that our court has experienced a certain amount of interference from local party organs. That is why we decided to suspend our CPSU membership, which accords with the principles of the creation of a rule-of-law state."

Silayev, Matlock Discuss Ties, Cooperation

LD2707215790 Moscow TASS in English 1656 GMT 27 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow July 27 TASS—Prime Minister of the Russian Federation Ivan Silayev received today Jack Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, at the latter's request.

They discussed issues dealing with the development of relations between the Russian Federation and the United States.

The sides expressed mutual interest in and readiness for cooperating in the economic, social, cultural and other spheres.

Perm Agricultural Strike Committee Confirmed

PM2707151390 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 27 Jul 90 Second Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent Yu. Shatalov under the rubric "We Follow the Situation": "Still No Agreement"]

[Text] Perm—SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA has already described in the dispatch "Hasty Ultimatum" (22 July 1990) how the Agro-Industrial Committee Board and the Kolkhoz [Collective Farm] Council Presidium in Perm created a strike committee. The cause of the conflict was the unwillingness of the city's enterprise collectives to help the countryside during the harvest. The ensuing situation naturally provoked alarm, but hopes remained of a mutually acceptable solution. Unfortunately, this hope has not been vindicated: An extraordinary conference of agro-industrial complex representatives has ratified the strike committee.

The agrarian workers' forum began with a massive attack on the mass media which have not expressed delight over the Agro-Industrial Committee's threat to begin a food blockade of cities.

In his speech M. Putilov, chairman of the Oblast Kolkhoz Council and leader of the strike committee, flatly denied the very fact of the ultimatum to city dwellers reported in our paper. This statement, unfortunately, does not correspond to reality. Here is an excerpt from the minutes of the strike committee's session: "In case of nonfulfillment of the decision of the oblispolkom [oblast executive committee] on sending people and motor transport to the countryside to procure feed and gather the harvest before 20 July, processing industry enterprises will be given the order to suspend deliveries of meat, milk, and meat and dairy products to the industrial centers in question." As we can see, there was indeed an ultimatum.

But other themes were heard in Comrade Putilov's speech at the conference. And also in the speech by RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] People's Deputy A. Belorusov, chairman of the Oblast Agro-Industrial Committee.

"We understand full well that only in alliance with the working class can the mass of problems which have befallen agriculture be resolved," he stated.

This change in the strike committee's standpoint was encouraging.

But neither the strike committee nor the conference delegates submitted constructive proposals on how to develop relations between urban and rural labor collectives in the future. The leaders of industrial enterprises also proved unprepared for businesslike discussion. The impression emerged that neither side was willing to take a step toward the other.

But the conference ratified the decision to set up the strike committee. The delegates instructed it to prepare a list of demands to the oblast soviet of people's deputies and to present them as soon as possible. What will happen next? We await the hour of wisdom, it has to come.

Economic Freedom Benefits Novosibirsk Sovkhoz

PM2707105590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 15 Jul 90

[Report by V. Tyabotin and A. Tselitskiy from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] I would like to remind you that, according to experts, 35 percent of agricultural output grown in our country is wasted through losses. And this figure threatens to grow further unless urgent measures, decisions, and steps are taken right now to establish market management in agriculture. So far only individual agricultural collectives have managed to escape from the system of the omnipotent agro-industrial associations. Our Novosibirsk correspondent reports on who stands to gain from this:

[Correspondent] The Sadovskiy Sovkhoz managed to escape from the tight embraces of the rayon agro-industrial association just over a year ago by switching to cost recovery. Few people in the rayon and the oblast as a whole believed that the collective could survive, having taken this fateful step and refused to pay thousands of rubles in tribute to the apparatus, which has a monopoly on resources and consequently also on power.

[P.T. Zolotarev, sovkhoz director and RSFSR people's deputy] We were warned at various levels that we would not be able to function without the assistance of the rayon agro-industrial association. We ourselves were afraid to take this step in the dark.

[Correspondent] Why did you do it nonetheless?

[Zolotarev] Above all because we were heartily sick of their irresponsibility, of the fact that there is an apparatus which issues instructions, an apparatus which as a rule lives better than those who actually produce the goods, an apparatus which issues instructions without accepting either moral or material responsibility for these instructions.

[Correspondent] Having rebelled against freeloading and leveling whereby the shortcomings of laggards are constantly made up at the expense of those who perform better, people on the Sadovskiy Sovkhoz are currently waging a hard struggle for survival, they are proving their right to independence through their own efforts. Despite the drought and the overt and covert opposition of various services, they are not just fulfilling all their state orders but are making above-plan deliveries of meat and establishing direct contacts with enterprises which sell machinery, timber, slate, and cement. The sovkhoz is systematically building housing at the rate of 20 apartments per year, and also kindergartens and roads.

But the main thing is that people are assuming a different kind of responsibility. After all, in the event of failure there is no one else to blame. And the saying "You reap what you have sown" applies literally.

Neighboring kolkhozes and sovkhozes are closely watching the pioneering farm which is trying to prove by its work that the potential of collective farming is far from exhausted because collective farms have never before been truly free and independent.

Cherepovets Presidium Claims Rights Over Land

LD2707100890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0400 GMT 27 Jul 90

[Text] The Presidium of the Soviet of people's deputies of Cherepovets has declared the lands within the town's boundaries the exclusive property of the town. Union and republican enterprises will henceforth pay the town for leasing the territories taken up by production capacities. It is planned to use the additional income thus generated for social needs and above all for improving the ecological situation in Cherepovets.

Odessa Residents Demand Chemical Plant's Closure

PM2607155590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Report by S. Fateyev and B. Zamchinskiy from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The question of the future of the Odessa dockside chemical plant, one of the biggest enterprises in the sector, has been placed on the agenda of the Odessa City Soviet session among other questions which are causing concern among the city's inhabitants.

[Correspondent] This is one of the biggest chemical complexes for the production and storage of ammonia and [?carbonite]. There is also the wharf where large-tonnage ships take ammonia on board; the ammonia pipeline from Odessa to Tolyatti; and huge tanks containing liquid ammonia, ethanol, and other dangerous substances. [video shows installations] And all this on the seashore near the Grigoriyevskiy flood plain which at one time abounded in fish in a resort area. The inhabitants of Odessa are outraged. They have organized a rally. The plant, which was a Komsomol [All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League] shock building project at one time, is now described only as another potential Chernobyl, as a Sword of Damocles hanging over Odessa.

Some inhabitants of Odessa have come to the building of the City Soviet to express their opinions.

[Unidentified woman] We are against the ammonia plant.

[Second unidentified woman] It must be switched to a different type of output or closed down. [video shows demonstrators displaying protest posters]

[S.P.] Kuleshov, member of the "ecological council"] We paid a visit to the dockside plant a few days ago and we were able to see for ourselves that, given its current condition, it cannot be effectively switched to a different type of output. I have brought along the signatures of some 20,000 Odessa inhabitants who are demanding that the plant be closed down without delay.

[A.A. Melnik, city soviet deputy] The session is opening today and we will seek a suspension of operations at the plant and an exhaustive investigation of the situation by a competent extradepartmental commission, possibly with the assistance of foreign experts, to be carried out to arrive at a clear-cut answer as to what kind of plant this is, what harmful effect it has already had on the environment, and what is in store for Odessa in the next few years.

Bratsk Aluminum Plant Views Options for Autonomy

PM2707155590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 26 Jul 90

[Report by N. Vidonov and V.Korop from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The ice has started moving. The country's major enterprises are increasingly declaring their unwillingness to comply with the diktat of wasteful ministries. Naturally, this does not always meet with the ministries' favor. You may recall that not so long ago we reported that moves toward independence on the part of the Baltic Shipping Company had led to a serious conflict between the shipping company and the USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet, which is to be examined by the government.

We hope that the Bratsk Aluminum Plant's road to independence will be much easier.

[Correspondent] The first Bratsk aluminum was produced in these huge buildings 24 years ago. And the new Siberian giant—at that time only giants were built in Bratsk—confidently gathered momentum. Soon it was producing a substantial share of the aluminum produced in the Soviet Union. This was very advantageous for the country. The metallurgists hoped that they would reap some of the benefits. But the promised good life never came. Enjoying only formal independence, the plant gradually turned into a fettered giant. The diktat and extortion of the ministry became intolerable. And so the metallurgists have decided to shake off their fetters. [video shows exterior, interior views of plant]

[V.I. Pronin, plant deputy director for economic affairs] Approximately 75 percent of our profits were taken away. The social sphere was not developed. People were on the waiting list for housing for several decades. That is, the ministry turned the plant into a milk cow. The plant decided that it had had enough, a conference was convened, and a corresponding decision adopted.

[Correspondent] How are you hoping to manage in the future?

[Pronin] We are working on two principles. We are discussing leasing—that is constantly on our agenda—and a joint-stock company. We are hoping to get some help in this respect and to acquire genuine independence so that our life depends on the results of our labor. As for marketing our output, we believe that there will always be a market for our output. After all, aluminum is a metal which lasts forever.

Gold Production in Magadan Reported

LD2907214390 Magadan Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 28 Jul 90

[Summary] Larisa Alekseyevna Oschepkova, head mining engineer, outlines the situation of the gold fields.

Almost all the enterprises are significantly behind with gold extraction. Bilibino is eight days behind, Berelekh more than five, and Serednekan four, for example. Things are difficult at Karemken and Matrosov mine. In the last few days, (?washing has speeded up), and all the combines are overfulfilling their day's tasks, but by no means all the work forces will be able to catch up. It will be particularly hard for those at Srednekan and Yagodnoye combines, and at Matrosov mine, and even harder at Bilibino.

In the prosecutors' sector, artels at Tenke and Bilibino are far behind schedule, while those at Eksperimentalnyy and Polyarnyy combine have already fulfilled their task for the month.

The situtation with turf stripping and extraction of underground sand has not improved. Stripping work is going particularly slowly at Srednekan, Pevek, Yagodnoye, Susuman, Orotukan (?and other) combines, which have so far done less than half the month's plan. The association as a whole is nine days behind.

New Aircraft Used in Internal Dagestan Flights

PM2607113390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Report by D. Beybutov and R. Radzhabov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Dagestan has started reequipping its internal air transport routes.

[Reporter] [Video shows aircraft taking off, airstrip, cabin, flight deck] The two-engined An-28, which provides rapid flights deep into mountain country, has indeed been long-awaited. Its appearance in the republic's skies has rekindled Dagestan people's interest in local passenger-carrying air routes. At the request of the region's citizens, the airport at the settlement of Akhty has reopened after 20 years. The first flight in the new aircraft to this major regional center on the southern edge of Russia was manned by one of the Makhachkala Air Enterprise's best crews—Captain Zhabir Abakarov and Copilot Akbulat Ziyadinov. It takes half a day to reach Akhty by bus, but just 30 minutes by air.

Currently the An-28 is being used on five of Dagestan's 15 internal routes. [Video shows aircraft, pilots on apron] In the very near future it will completely replace older Antonov aircraft which, having put in good service in the mountains, are considered too slow in our fast-moving day and age. Here's an interesting detail: The comfortable new aircraft—which, incidentally, can carry 50 percent more passengers than the An-2—is still making a loss here. But Aeroflot is initially bearing the losses itself so as to help Dagestan solve its mountain-region transport problems.

Western Republic

Ukrainian Resolution Issued on Military Service

LD3007134190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 30 Jul 90

[Text] Today the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet has adopted a resolution on drafting citizens of the republic into military service and on rules on employment of the staff of the republic's law enforcement bodies in the areas beyond its borders. In this connection, a statement was adopted, which says that the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian republic deems it impermissible for Ukrainian citizens who are called up to military service or who work in the republic's law enforcement bodies to be employed in the areas where interethnic relations have deteriorated.

The statement calls upon the USSR Supreme Soviet and the president of the country to try and resolve interethnic and other conflicts by political means. It also says that citizens of the republic must be, as a rule, called up to regular military service on their own territory.

The statement addresses the supreme soviets of the Azerbaijani, Armenian and Kirghizi republics and to use their own forces in order to ensure law and order on their territory.

Ukrainian Premier Cited on 'State Sovereignty'

LD3107115290 Moscow TASS in English 1145 GMT 31 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow July 31 TASS—Ukrainian Prime Minister Vitaliy Masol said he associated the Ukraine's revival—rapid economic development and improving living standards—with the implementation of ideas in the declaration of the Ukraine's state sovereignty, just adopted by the Ukrainian parliament, according to his interview published in the latest issue of "GOVERNMENT HERALD".

"There are various opinions about the new opportunities connected with the revival of national statehood," he said. Some would use the Ukraine's sovereignty as a pretext for leaving the Soviet Union. I visualise the Ukraine as an independent state within the composition of the renewed Soviet Federation".

Masol believes that the republic's sovereignty over its production potential will facilitate the implementation of measures that should make the national economy serve people's needs. First of all, it is necessary to intensify restructuring in favour of the industries of manufacturing consumer goods.

The Ukrainian prime minister said that sovereignty opens new opportunities for direct economic cooperation with other republics. "We intend to use them effectively. Soon we are going to conclude mutually-advantageous agreements with Russia, Belorussia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan. We will actively engage in foreign economic activity".

Masol expressed confidence that the development of the national economy will be sped up, output increased and the national income augmented. Social programmes will then be implemented at a faster pace.

Priorities include the revival of rural areas, elimination of the consequences of the Chernobyl accident, improvement of the ecological situation, speeding up the rate of housing construction, social development of the Donetsk region and revival of national culture.

Ukrainian Party Plenum Information Report Viewed

90UN2215A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 15 Jun 90 p 1

[Ukrainian CP Plenum Information Report: "Information Report on the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] A Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum occurred on June 13, 1990. Obkom [oblast party committee] first secretaries and also oblast Soviet and oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive committee] chairmen—CPSU members, Congress Preparation Commission members, and Central Electoral Commission members for election of delegates to the 28th Ukrainian Party Congress and 28th CPSU Congress who are not Central Committee members were invited to participate in it.

The following proposals for the 28th Ukrainian Party Congress agenda were discussed and approved at the plenum:

—On the political situation and the primary directions of the Ukrainian Communist Party's activities at the current stage. A Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Report;
—A Ukrainian Communist Party Auditing Commission Report;
—On Ukrainian Communist Party activities on program principles;
—On the CPSU Central Committee draft platform for the 28th CPSU Congress;
—On the draft CPSU Charter;
—On the draft Ukrainian Communist Party Charter; and,
—Elections of Ukrainian Communist Party governing organs.

The Central Committee Report was approved. Central Committee First Secretary V.A. Ivashko was authorized to deliver it at the congress.

Draft congress resolutions and decisions were approved in accordance with the Central Committee report and CPSU and Ukrainian Communist Party program documents. It was decided to send comments and proposals stated by plenum participants for review by the appropriate congress commissions.

Central Committee members approved a resolution to increase the Ukrainian Communist Party 28th Congress Preparatory Commission staff using congress delegates.

The following spoke at the plenum: Lvov Party Obkom First Secretary V.V. Sekretaryuk; Poltava Obkom First Secretary A.S. Myakota; Makeyevka Metallurgy Combine imeni S.M. Kirov Partkom [Party Committee] Secretary V.V. Yevsyukov; Sumy Oblast Shostkinskiy Gorkom [City Party Committee] Secretary N.F. Akinin; UkSSR [Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences] Institute of Philosophy Sociology Department Chief Scientific Associate V.K. Vrublevskiy; Zaporozhe Gorkom First Secretary P.M. Vanat; Kiev Polytechnical Institute Prorector M.K. Rodionov; Kherson Obkom First Secretary M.M. Kushnerenko; city of Nikolayev Okean Plant Shipwright V.L. Krasnozhon; Kharkov Obkom First Secretary A.K. Myalitsa; Kirovograd Oblast Onufriyevskiy Raykom [Rayon Party Committee] First Secretary K.M. Tovchirenko; Kherson Industrial Institute Partkom Secretary V.T. Gomonyuk; and, city of Lugansk Luganskteplovoz Production Association Fitter Team Leader A.D. Dragolyuntsev.

Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary V.A. Ivashko delivered the concluding remarks at the plenum.

The speeches noted that pre-congress discussions reflect the anxiety of communists and the broad mass of workers with the situation in the party and in the country and with the complication of the political situation. The current activities of both the CPSU as a whole and the Ukrainian Communist Party do not totally respond to the acuteness of the political aspect and the tasks of renewing society. The speakers said that the 28th Ukrainian Party Congress is called upon to comprehensively analyze the socio-political and economic situation, precisely define positive and negative trends, fundamentally assess what has been done, and develop a constructive political policy for the future.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum dismissed Comrade V.S. Shevchenko from his position as Ukrainian Communist Party Politburo member and Comrade Yu.P. Kolomiytsa from duties as candidate for membership in the Central Committee Politburo.

Ukraine Deputy Premier on Meeting With Miners

LD3007204790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 30 Jul 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A meeting has taken place in Kiev between representatives of strike committees and a group of people's deputies of Ukraine from the Donbass, with Masol, head of the republic's government, and his deputy, Fokin, leader of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic State Committee on the Economy. At the meeting with miners the head of the Ukrainian government reported that the USSR Council of Ministers has adopted a new decision in which it has approved a comprehensive program worked out by the Ukrainian Council of Ministers for the social and economic development of miners' towns and settlements in the Ukraine in the years 1991-95. An additional 4.1 billion rubles [R] are being allocated for these aims; R623 million from centralized sources are being allocated in freely convertible currency.

Vitold Fedorovich [as heard] Fokin, deputy chairman of Ukraine's Council of Ministers, talks about how the meeting took place:

[Begin video recording; video shows correspondent L. Ilchenko and Fokin talking in the corner of a room] [Ilchenko] Vitold Pavlovich, a talk has taken place between the government and miners. It was pretty sharp and impartial, but very important for both sides. What would you note of a constructive nature, as a participant in that meeting?

[Fokin] The comrades presented a whole series of demands and at the same time proposed the course for resolving conflicts that have come to a head. People understand that the country now finds itself at a turning point, that the economy is in a most grave state, and they demanded only one thing—you don't need to deceive us; we don't need bribes; we don't need promises. Say what you can and what you really deem it essential to do, and what, perhaps, can be set aside for the future. That is, we don't need...we'll put it in the language that miners used: you don't need to try it on with us. What was also positive was the fact that the mines had already formulated questions and a list of demands with which they addressed themselves to the government.

First, they admitted that they had been in too much of a hurry to get rid of the republic's Ministry of the Coal Industry, and the ministry really did fall under their blows. Therefore, they deemed it expedient to ask the government to create a committee on coal which would assume all functions, including the functions of reviving and improving the economic situation in the coal industry. Council of Ministers Chairman Vitaliy Andreyevich Masol has already signed a decision on creating such a committee.

The miners proposed the transfer of relations of state organizational structures with miners' collectives to contractual principles. We don't know yet what form this will take, what conditions, but this is a very important fact in itself, and a modern one. There were also proposals to include in these contractual relations such a characteristic detail, for example, in certain conditions to impose a moratorium on holding strikes. Not everyone supported this, but approving voices were also to be heard over the fact that miners should conclude a bilateral agreement on what the government is obliged to ensure and what the miners are obliged to ensure.

You see—it's dreadful to consider—compared with 1987 we have fallen behind in the extraction of coal by 18 million [unit of measurement not specified]. The dialogue will continue. The more so, since as proposed by the mines, we have agreed that not more rarely than once a month representatives of the government, committees, will meet with the miners and inform them of the results of implementing the decisions adopted earlier on the social and economic development of miners' collectives. [end recording]

Citizens Picket Transcarpathian Nuclear Plant

90UN2202A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 7 Jun 90 p 1

[Article by A. Pavlov, Zaporozhe Oblast: "Nikopol Is Against the AES"]

[Text] Nearly 300 Nikopol residents, who crossed the Kakhovskiy Reservoir in launches and on a ferry, picketed the Zaporozhe AES [nuclear electric power station].

This is the first time such an act has occurred in Energodar. Nikopol Gorsoviet [City Soviet] people's deputies and the Greens [Zeleniy Svit] ecological organization activists organized it.

"We demand the establishment of a government commission to conduct a comprehensive inspection in the area of Zaporozhe GRES [State Regional Electric Power Plant]—Zaporozhe AES energy complex operations and creation of a special biomedical service for continuous monitoring and observation of the condition of the water, air, soil, and health of the population in the 30 kilometer AES zone. Nikopol residents insist on cessation of construction of the sixth unit and the gradual withdrawal from operation of the remaining reactors. The GRES must immediately transfer to gas," stated Greens leader V.S. Sandul.

"The ecological situation in Nikopol is really catastrophic. But how much is the nuclear plant at fault for this? What specific data do you have about an increase of radiation background or about radioactive contamination of the water and soil?" I posed the question to organizers of the picketing.

Neither Nikopol Gorsoviet deputies N.F. Netunayev or L.N. Krikunenko, nor Greens leader V.S. Sandul could answer this question. Numbers and facts have been replaced by emotions and fear of a possible repetition of Chernobyl.

"We understand and approve of these Greens activities," AES Chief Engineer T.G. Plokhiy surprised me by stating this. "'Be careful, there is always someone looking for prey.' Our interests completely coincide in the matter of environmental protection. The difference consists of the fact that we have information and do not hide it and the people we are talking to do not want to hear anything."

These are the facts: Nikopol enterprises annually discharge 45,000 tons of harmful substances into the air and Zaporozhe AES discharges 32,000 tons. We owe acid rain precisely to the thermal plant. Evaporation of water from AES cooling ponds only aggravates the situation but is not its primary cause.

Unfortunately, the dialogue at the rally that occurred near the plant's walls did not turn out. People already do not believe anyone: Neither reports, nor dosimeters, nor opinions of foreign experts.... It is impossible to blame Nikopol residents for this. They and really all of us have been deceived too many times.

But it is also irrational to close the plant just on the wave of emotion. Picketing the Zaporozhe AES is an act of despair and yet one more attempt to thus attract attention to the city's problems. Appeals of three ecological rallies to the republic and country's Supreme Soviets have not yet produced results. Not even answers have resulted.

Ukrainian Official on Chernobyl Resettlement

90UN2202B Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 7 Jun 90 p 2

[Interview with Ukragrostroy (Ukrainian Agricultural Construction) Deputy Chairman Valentin Sergeyevich Chernenko: "Chernobyl: Resettlement Problems: We Are Not Building Homes But Farmsteads"]

[Text] This year we need to resettle 15,000 people from contaminated areas.

[PRAVDA UKRAINY] Valentin Sergeyevich! Republic Agrostroy is faced with providing housing to practically everyone who is being moved out of their villages. How much work are you faced with accomplishing?

[Chernenko] If we [state it in terms of] money, then this year's work is valued at 35.5 million rubles. The majority of the facilities consist of homes, more precisely, of farmsteads with all support structures. We are laying the foundations of 1,070 such farmsteads. All of them are in Zhitomir and Kiev Oblasts.

Village residents are attempting to resettle altogether, by entire villages. Their desires have been taken into account: We are erecting 12 modern villages. We have basically "attached" them to unpromising villages where there were no suitable roads, gas, running water, or even electricity or communications in some places. All of this work must be accomplished by the appropriate republic ministries. Naturally, it is easier to accomplish tasks through common efforts but nonetheless complications also arise. Let us say that someone is late and the entire cycle is disrupted. In sum, all work is being drawn out.

In each village being built, social-cultural-everyday life facilities—kindergartens, schools, clubs, medical and obstetrics facilities, baths, trade centers, and stores—must be included in plans. They also provide for several consumer services buildings and cafeterias, a pharmacy, a bakery plant, and also even some production facilities, in particular, seven stock-raising farms, four tractor stations, a refrigerator, and a grain depot.

Well, that is the approximate picture.

[PRAVDA UKRAINY] You stressed that farmsteads are being built and not homes. Tell me in more detail, what is this farmstead?

[Chernenko] The main thing in it is that it is a large house. As a rule, it consists of three or four rooms. Water, gas, (in Zhitomirshchina, this work will be accomplished beginning next year) and sewer systems will be hooked up to them. I will not talk about electricity or radio—this goes without saying. A homestead with traditional structures and, of course, a garden plot abut the house.

[PRAVDA UKRAINY] Similar farmsteads were built in 1986—for peasant families that had been evacuated from the 30 kilometer zone.

[Chernenko] That is entirely correct. But the current ones are somewhat better. Thus, the size of the garden plot has been increased. In 1986, they totaled six hundredths of a hectare and now they are a minimum of 12 and there are some that are 40 hectares. The sheds will be a bit more spacious. It will not only be a warehouse: A place has been provided to keep domesticated animals and fowl. Current farmsteads are more comfortable and there are more conveniences.

Furthermore, each farmstead has been provided with a cellar. If there is high ground water, the basement will be only half as deep. An exterior one covered with earth is also possible.

[PRAVDA UKRAINY] People living in "contaminated" zones are waiting impatiently to depart. How soon will they get that opportunity?

[Chernenko] We are obligated to turn over all housing earlier than planned. We will have them ready by September 1st. It is understandable why it is needed by that time period: Children begin the school year. Yes and autumn is autumn: It will not be warm, we must anticipate the first cold weather.

[PRAVDA UKRAINY] People will assess this step and they will say a kind word. However, how realistic are these plans?

[Chernenko] As they say, everything has been worked out and calculated. Powerful forces have been involved in construction: 19 oblagroproms [oblast agroindustries] and three specialized trusts. This detail is also quite important. Ukragrostroy headed construction of 102 villages intended for those people evacuated from the Chernobyl zone. Just like in 1986, each of the subdivisions that represents some oblagrostroy arrived at the work site with its own equipment and materials—everything of its own without exception. The work is headed by highly responsible people who have the required authority. Most frequently they are oblagrostroy deputy chairmen and they have chief engineers. These formations are capable of carrying out the assigned tasks.

We have paid attention to organization of the construction. We have established headquarters for this purpose: Central, design organizations, and four line [headquarters]. We are striving for coordinated operations with the partners and we are compiling joint work schedules to do this.

[PRAVDA UKRAINY] What has already been done? When do you expect the first new settlers?

[Chernenko] Earth work has been completed at 842 farmsteads, foundations have been laid at 756, and walls have been erected at 164.

We are planning to commission the first homes already in the next few days in Zhitomirshchina. The primary turnover will be in June and July.

[PRAVDA UKRAINY] At one meeting that was conducted on resettlement in the republic Council of Ministers, it was proposed that the people who will live at the farmsteads should be employed in building them. This is proposed both to assist and to monitor the quality of work. What can you say in this regard?

[Chernenko] It is a good suggestion and they support it. Unfortunately, not massively. They began such work in the village of Lysovka of Popelnyanskiy Rayon at Zhitomirshchina. And the opportunities for this are favorable in many locations. People are not occupied with very much in the villages being resettled. We hope that the local authorities will more actively assist in this matter.

[PRAVDA UKRAINY] Who and how was work begun? What worries you and what would you like to direct attention to?

[Chernenko] Of the 19 oblagrostroys participating in the construction of the villages, Odessa and Lvov began worse than the others. Poltava slowly got down to work. We can only be amazed that some collective leaders do not understand the acuteness of the situation and they are not touched by a feeling of compassion for the people.

Odessa, Kherson, Crimea, and Ternopol oblispolkoms are having difficulty providing the required construction materials, bricks in particular. Orders in this regard have been issued at the republic government level but the required shifts have not occurred. The lack of construction materials is holding up work.

I am worried by the sluggishness and lack of coordination of the activities of the partners—republic ministries who are independently carrying out the tasks assigned to them according to the profile.

Supplemental Aid Supplied to Chernobyl Victims

90UN2215B Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 15 Jun 90 p 1

[Ukrainian Council of Ministers Information Section Communique: "Additional Health Improvements for Children"]

[Text] As has already been reported in the press, on April 25 the Ukrainian Council of Ministers and Ukrsovprof [Ukrainian Trade Union Council] adopted a resolution to improve the health in 1990 of school children, mothers with pre-school age children, and pregnant women who reside on territory that has been exposed to radioactive contamination as a result of the Chernobyl AES [nuclear electric power station] accident.

But at a May 25th Ukrainian Council of Ministers session, republic people's deputies raised the question about supplemental measures in this matter and the appropriate decision was approved. The republic government and Ukrsovprof adopted a joint resolution in execution of it.

Republic ministries and departments have been tasked to additionally allocate 36,800 passes to health resorts, resort hotels, and rest homes and to send them to oblast trade union soviets to organize improvement of the health of mothers with children and pregnant women who reside in the zone that is experiencing aftereffects of the Chernobyl disaster.

The Ukrainian Ministry of Public Health and oblispolkoms [oblast soviet executive committees] and gorispolkoms [city soviet executive committees] have been authorized to allocate 30,000 passes to republic and locally subordinated children's health resorts for treatment of students from the indicated zone who have chronic illnesses and who are part of the health center group.

Oblispolkoms and Oblsovprofs along with workers collective soviets of enterprises, institutions, and organizations must resolve the issue of allocating an additional 55,200 passes for mothers with children and pregnant women from the indicated zone to health resorts, clinics, and rest facilities. They have been authorized to provide reservations in August for up to 30 percent of the available quantity of passes to children's health camps for students who reside in the contaminated zone.

A Ukrainian LKSM [Leninist Communist Youth League] Central Committee proposal was adopted on the supplemental allocation of 6,000 passes by the end of the year to the Molodaya Gvardiya Republic Pioneer Camp and to Artek and Okean All-Union Pioneer Camps for school children from the contaminated zone. The Ukrainian Ministry of Finance has been authorized to pay their costs.

The republic ministry of public education is obliged to organize the improvement of the health of 9,000 teenage professional technical school students located in the contaminated zone based at southern oblast professional technical schools during the summer. The appropriate organs must resolve the issue about improving the health of groups of school children in foreign countries. Two thousand Kiev mothers with children and school children will spend the summer recuperating in the Kazakh and Tajik SSR's and another 6,600 in the Lithuanian SSR. Passes to the Baltic region will be presented to children who have been evacuated from the Chernobyl AES 30 kilometer zone and to accident cleanup participants. Kiev Gorispolkom and Gorsovprof are engaged in the practical resolution of this problem. Oblispolkoms, gorispolkoms, and oblsovprofs must ensure functioning of permanent health camps that have heat and other necessary conditions to additionally improve the health of Kiev school students in September.

Society and Chernobyl Union Society representatives will be broadly enlisted during distribution of passes for treatment and relaxation. Passes for health resort treatment will be presented first of all to children who are on the health center report and who reside in the zone of strict control and in populated areas with limited consumption of locally grown products.

The Ukrainian Council of Ministers and Ukrsovprof are disseminating information that the May 25 Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Resolution to the leaders of enterprises, institutions, and organizations authorizes them to grant a supplemental unpaid vacation for health and relaxation to mothers who have pre-school age and young school age children and to pregnant women who reside in populated areas that have been exposed to radioactive contamination and who have continuous work service behind them.

Appropriate ministries and departments are obliged to provide a medical examination to those sent for relaxation and treatment, their round-trip organizational transportation to rest locations, and to render required material technical assistance to health camps and health resorts.

The resolution stipulates continuation of work on finding passes for health resort treatment of mothers with children and pregnant women from areas that suffered from the Chernobyl AES accident. A number of oblispolkoms and oblsovprofs with the participation of appropriate ministries and departments have been authorized to develop a permanent health institution construction program for treatment and relaxation of children for the period from 1991-1995 in ecologically clean regions of the republic.

The Council of Ministers and Ukrsovprof hope that government, social, and trade union organs, workers collectives of enterprises, institutions, and organizations will relate to this matter with understanding, will manifest mercy, and do everything possible so that 1990 actually becomes the year that we improve the health of children who reside on territory that suffered as a result of the Chernobyl AES accident.

'Stop Chernobyl' Movement in Ukraine Growing

LD3107123590 Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 30 Jul 90

[Excerpts] The Kiev branches of the Ukrainian Republican Party and the Ukraine's Green Party have started forming a public committee which will be known as Stop Chernobyl.

As is known the USSR Government, under public pressure from the Ukraine, decided to close the Chernobyl Nuclear Electric Power Station for good. But, no one knows how it is going to be done, in what stages, on what specific dates, and who will control the closing-down process. The Stop Chernobyl committee plans to take upon itself an inspector's duties. [passage omitted]

In our view, the Chernobyl problem, because of constant delays in its solution, may again worsen the situation within society. Here is an example. The interparty assembly of democratic forces in the Ukraine has called for a two-hour political warning strike on 9 August and advanced a single demand: The Chernobyl Nuclear Electric Power Station must be closed immediately. At a meeting convened by the interparty assembly, among the speakers was worker Markov, representative of the Kiev tram cars strike committee. [passage omitted]

[Begin Markov recording] First of all, Kiev should be recognized as an ecological disaster area. Second, the demand of coal miners that the Army, militia, courts, and procurator's offices should be depoliticized and the party committees removed from the territories of enterprises and organizations must be fulfilled. Third, the Ukrainian national symbols must be legalized on the territory of the entire Ukraine—the blue-yellow flag, the trident as coat of arms and the anthem "The Ukraine Has Not Died Yet." [end recording]

Opposing Views Expressed on Ukrainian Army

PM3107075790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by V. Litovkin and S. Tsikora: "Will the Ukraine Have Its Own Army?"]

[Text] As is known, the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet has adopted the declaration on the republic's state sovereignty. It contains, in particular, the following lines: "...The Ukrainian SSR has the right to its own Armed Forces... The Ukrainian SSR determines the procedure for the republic's citizens to perform military service. Citizens of the Ukrainian SSR perform active military service, as a rule, on the republic's territory..."

Our correspondent asked Colonel General G. Krivosheyev, deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, to comment on these points in the declaration.

"The first thing that I would like to say is that I do not intend to interfere in the affairs of the Ukrainian parliament or to lecture the republic's people's deputies. The idea of a national army is not new, and the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet is not the first to adopt such a decision. But the USSR Constitution and the USSR Law on Compulsory Military Service still apply in our country, and the USSR Ministry of Defense is obliged to fulfill their injunctions, as well as decrees of the USSR president and resolutions of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the country's Council of Ministers.

"Why do I have a negative attitude to the idea of republican armies? Because I believe that the country's defense must not be split up among national, republican compartments. This is simply frivolous, to say the least. In stationing missile units, aircraft, air defenses, and naval and ground forces we proceed from strategic and operational considerations, not from demographic or, in individual cases, egoistic sentiments in a particular region.

"In the Ukraine, for example, not so many troops are needed as its population can provide, while the Far Eastern borders cannot be guarded only by natives of Siberia or those places. There are extremely few of them even to fulfill the principles of defense sufficiency. As well as for the protection of northern salients, the waters off the Pacific coast...

"I believe that questions of the country's defense and the principles of forming and manning the USSR Armed Forces must be decided at the union level. They must definitely be specified both in the new USSR Law on Defense and in the new Union treaty. Then no misunderstandings will arise in the future.

"As for the spring draft, which is now coming to an end, I must say that the Ukraine has fulfilled its plan by the full 100 percent, even in the 'difficult' western oblasts. Its boys will serve in all branches of the Armed Forces, in all categories of troops, and in all parts of the country.

"From my observations over many years, military-patriotic work is well organized in the republic, and strong, intelligent guys go into the Army from here and make splendid soldiers."

We familiarized USSR and Ukrainian SSR People's Deputy D. Pavlychko with Col. Gen. G. Krivosheyev's opinion. He said:

"I understand the anxiety of the general, who is aware that without the Ukraine the Soviet Union loses significance as a superpower in the military-political sense. But it is also necessary to understand a republic with a population of 52 million, for which a proclamation of sovereignty without creating its own army would amount to a set of phrases full of hypocrisy and ignorance of history. There were in fact Ukrainian military units after the October revolution, and similar large units were also formed in postwar times, when the United Nations was being set up. The Ukraine, by the way, is a UN member with the rights of a sovereign and independent republic.

"The organization of national armies—in the context of the general demilitarization of all states—is a progressive phenomenon. According to the declaration adopted, the Ukrainian army can have neither nuclear nor other weapons of mass destruction. At the same time this does not rule out the existence of a strategic professional army to defend the community of independent republics. Such an army would consist of large national units, like the Warsaw Pact forces, and questions of its organizational principles would, of course, have to be decided by the independent republics on parity principles.

"I emphasize," Dmitro Pavlychko added, "that the creation of national armies, including a Ukrainian army, is in my opinion a normal, natural process in the republic's attainment of true independence. This question falls exclusively within the competence of the Ukrainian parliament, whose deputies will, of course, listen to the generals' opinions but will hardly turn over questions of the republic's sovereignty into their hands. Therefore, in response to the question—will the Ukraine have its own army?—the republic's parliamentarians say: It will!"

Kharkov Unions See Need For Social Protection

LD2707111390 Moscow World Service in Russian 0930 GMT 27 Jul 90

[From the "Soviet Chronicle" feature of the "Soviet Union Day by Day" program; report attributed to INTERFAX]

[Text] The Kharkov Oblast soviet of trade unions has adopted a statement which says that it considers the positions of the USSR government on the transition to the market to be unacceptable.

It does not guarantee to the maximum extent people's social protection and gives rise in them to a lack of confidence in the future, the document says.

In the opinion of its authors, it is essential for the government, together with the trade unions, to discuss a set of social protection measures in the conditions of the transition to the market economy, and to find sources guaranteeing that transition without a drop in living standards.

Abolition of Simferopol Rayon Committees Planned

LD2507185890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Jul 90

[Text] Party rayon comittees are to be abolished in Simferopol, an oblast center in the Crimea. This decision has been adopted by the town party committee bureau. The bureau proceeded from the fact that the independence of primary party organizations in growing, including in such important issues as admitting to the CPSU and examining personal matters. Consequently, their direct links with the town committee are getting stronger. There are three rayon committees in Simferopol now. The premises which will be vacated are planned to be handed over to rayon soviets of people's deputies.

Kebich Submits Belorussian Government Program

LD3007151990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 30 Jul 90

[Text] The new Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic Government program was submitted to deputies of the republican Supreme Soviet by Kebich, chairman of the Council of Ministers. The program is aimed mainly at the implementation of Belorussian sovereignty, as proclaimed by its Supreme Soviet. A comprehensive plan was drawn up for realization of the concept of economic independence of the republic and of a transfer to a market economy.

Sokolov Views Congress, Belorussian Situation

PM3107101090 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jul 90 Second Edition pp 1-2

[Interview with Ye.Ye. Sokolov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, by A. Chernyak: "With the Current of Renewal"]

[Text] [Chernyak] Yefrem Yevseyevich, it is not long since the 28th CPSU Congress, but long enough to analyze its decisions more profoundly.

[Sokolov] The congress materials are helping its delegates and millions of communists to master the new thinking. The new thinking not as a mechanical continuation of the old, but as a response to the challenge of the times, as a means, a method of utilizing the new energy that has appeared in the party and society. The CPSU as we knew it yesterday does not exist today. There is a party with wide pluralism of opinion. Nonetheless people continue to pin the old labels on it.

The congress confirmed quite clearly that the party remains not merely the vanguard force of perestroyka, but the main guarantor of the exercise of democratic rights, tolerating neither the braking of the process of transformations, nor its senseless and provocative acceleration along the path of capitalization. Without imposing new ideological stereotypes on anyone, all of us communists must seek practical ways of creating a humane, democratic socialism, in such a way that people become convinced that our choice has a promising future.

[Chernyak] What lessons did you learn from the debate at the congress?

[Sokolov] There were many, but I would like to highlight three. First, the lesson of the acute political struggle. This congress, unlike its predecessors, lacked ostentatiously warm votes of approval for decisions adopted beforehand. Heated debates flared up not only over M.S. Gorbachev's report, but also over phrases in the various resolutions. And that is good. This should now be the norm—total frankness in expounding and defending positions.

The next important lesson is that we must go forward. Staunchly, consistently, unraveling the problems in the economy, ecology, health care, education, nationalities policy, the spiritual sphere, the situation in connection with the Chernobyl disaster... I am confident that the congress injected millions of communists with a sense of the need for forward movement. And here the unifying feature is the party's unequivocal commitment to democratic, humane socialism.

I believe that the consolidating trends in society will grow still stronger when it becomes clear to everyone that we are not working toward capitalism—illusions are dangerous here! We are moving toward the capitalist world to precisely the extent that it respects our unique identity and our peoples' socialist choice, to the extent that it is willing to come together with us in mutually beneficial, equal relations. This is, of course, a policy that will take many years. And attempts to remake us in a different style, whether from within or without, will not succeed.

And another lesson, perhaps the most important—the party must be protected. Things are difficult for the party at the moment—it is being renewed, and this process is painful. But this very process is showing that the party has enormous creative forces at its disposal. And I would like it to expend its "powder" on resolving social tasks and on strengthening morality, which has been undermined by sloppy ideology and damaged by the weakening of the economy, and also by mistakes during the perestroyka period.

[Chernyak] There are, however, currents which, even after the 28th CPSU Congress, are aimed at bringing about the party's political bankruptcy...

[Sokolov] Yes, there are. I cannot accept the ultimatum tone adopted in mid-July in Moscow by "Democratic Russia," the "Democratic Platform in the CPSU," the "Memorial" Society, and others. The hysteria and threats served neither consolidation nor democracy, but I think it will make society more realistic. People can see that a destructive, antidemocratic concept is being instilled not only in the party, but in society as a whole. This concept destroys long-established ties and mutually beneficial interests. The total division of the Union, so that every republic would grab "its share," is welcomed. The same thing is preached with regard to regions and enterprises. It is a bad thing if a person loses his common sense. But what if a politician loses his sense of realism? The economy is not running smoothly, crime is growing, morality is in decline, the hotbeds of separatism and chauvinism are not dying down... In this situation the CPSU's departure from the political scene would mean inevitable chaos. Yet we are a country with nuclear power stations, nuclear and chemical weapons... Do those who advocate the disintegration of the CPSU realize this? Is their impatience a responsible attitude? Things should be only how they want them... They declare invalid any proposal, any measure by the USSR president and USSR Government. At the same time they "push" their own ideas by every just and unjust means, without the least concern as to whether the conditions are ripe. Yet it was Socrates who observed that you can adopt a law on turning donkeys into horses, thereby demonstrating that lawmaking should reflect real possibilities. In our country we hear the loud voices of those who verbally condemn the administrative edict system, but in practice would very much like to "govern" by its methods.

[Chernyak] What is the attention of the Central Committee, party committees, and organizations of the Belorussian Communist Party now focused on?

[Sokolov] There are many problems facing us. It is perhaps not quite right to try to set them all out in order, saying first this, then that. Is there not a priority need for radical economic transformations and the strengthening of discipline? But what about the situation on the consumer market, the social restructuring of the countryside, the resolution of the food problem?

There is no political force in the republic today apart from its Communist Party that could take on the whole of this burden and propose concrete action programs. With a view to their successful implementation, the Central Committee and the party organizations are working persistently to consolidate all society's healthy forces. For us, the best answer to various kinds of attacks, accusations, and attempts at intimidation and gross pressure on the part of destructive forces is firmness, calm, sober assessments, and profound analysis of the situation, that is, the things that should be characteristic of a strong political party that has chosen its path and is following it unswervingly.

We are now entering the period of reports and elections in the party organizations and beginning to prepare for our 31st congress. Much work is being done by party members in soviets at various levels, where today many important decisions that will influence our lives for many years are being shaped.

Quite a good harvest has been grown in the republic, but for a long time it has been raining every day... So should we stand aside from the problems associated with the harvesting? I believe that is wrong...

[Chernyak] You yourself have led me to the next question. The party has proclaimed a division of functions between soviets and party committees. What about the economy? After all, the question of the transition to market relations is an urgent item on the agenda for the party committees too. What is their role here?

[Sokolov] We should talk not simply of a demarcation of functions between the party and the soviets. We have rather lost sight of the fact that the duties of these two institutions are predetermined by their very nature. The CPSU, as a political party, should draw up program goals and act as the voice of the working people's interests. These functions, incidentally, are enshrined in the program statement and statutes adopted at the 28th congress. And the soviets' functions are government and management. In short, the party and the soviets should each do their own job. But the party intends also to implement its political goals through the soviets and their executive organs, through the communists working on them. Of course, it is not a question of trying to command the organs of people's power or exercising administrative pressure. I am talking about such methods as persuasion, well-argued campaigning, and political forms of work.

As for the economy, if the party is counting on a vanguard role in society, it cannot in any circumstances give up work in the economic sphere. Its role, in my view, is first and foremost to propose to society a scientifically substantiated, socially oriented economic policy. The main provisions of this policy were partly outlined by the 28th CPSU Congress. Enormous work lies ahead to explain and implement it. The republic has taken the first step in this direction—from the beginning of the year, it has gone over to conditions of self-management and self-financing. In a number of the most important areas of socioeconomic development, the level planned for the end of the five-year plan has already been surpassed. As for market relations, here I see the party's role primarily in proposing effective measures to compensate for the working people's losses. But that is only one sphere of application of party forces, albeit a very important one. Much work has to be done in the democratization of economic relations, and organizational and ideological work must be carried out in the collectives. And if some people think today that there is nothing for the party committees to do at the enterprises, they are either profoundly mistaken, or are deliberately trying to exclude the party from the resolution of the urgent tasks of perestroyka.

[Chernyak] You said that the party and the soviets should each do their own job. There is no disputing that. Nonetheless, it is not working out like that everywhere. In some places a chilly atmosphere and even confrontation can clearly be sensed in relations between party committees and soviets. What must be done, in your view, to put an end as quickly as possible to this abnormal phenomenon?

[Sokolov] The process begun by the party of transferring power to the soviets has become irreversible. Evidence of this is provided by the composition of the newly elected body of deputies and the start of its energetic activity. The awakened energy among the people's elected representatives and their enthusiastic discussion of all questions of the economic, political, cultural, and spiritual spheres of life can only be welcomed. But that is generalizing. Certain soviets are still waiting for instructions "from above." We can see contradictions, disagreements, conflicts, especially where the leadership of the local organs of power has been taken over by young, energetic people who do not have sufficient experience of political work. I do not think it is right to speak of confrontation between the party committees and soviets. In my view these are normal processes of the difficult task of forming people's power, democracy, and the quest for forms of relations based on partnership, cooperation, and mutual respect.

Of course, it would be nice if the assimilation of new methods of political work went more rapidly. We see it as our task, on the basis of established practice and the program documents of the 28th party congress, to consolidate the best forces in the soviets which are committed to the socialist choice, and in so doing to show political wisdom, restraint, and tolerance of different views and opinions.

Party committees, taking into account the wishes of the people's deputies, especially those elected for the first time (who form a majority in the present convocation), are actively helping the soviets to organize training of the people's elected representatives. The Minsk and Mogilev party obkoms [oblast committees], for instance, are carrying out this trianing in conjunction with the soviets, using their own sociopolitical centers as a base.

[Chernyak] We say we are building a new home. And that is indeed so. Our society is entirely different today—unprecedentedly politicized, democratic, with broad glasnost. But in this society many party committees are operating in the old way. Hence the hitches and false starts...

[Sokolov] I wish to clarify this point: We are not simply building the shell of a building, but a comfortable home where man can feel that he is the master, can enjoy all the good things of life, and furthermore can leave this house to his children in good condition. In the role of the architect, the party proposed the plan, the idea. It is no longer distributing the concrete and bricks among the construction teams, but, relying on their initiative and skill, is only suggesting the optimum ways of working, comparing the different approaches and views.

Here I am drawing a picture of the ideal. Of course, it would be nice if that was how it was today. But unfortunately, this is not always achieved. The adherence to strong-arm, command methods, developed over many years, not only brings work to a halt, but threatens to destroy what has already been created. We therefore look with great hope and optimism upon the original, bold steps taken by the new people, of whom there are more and more in our ranks today. They are free of the administrative edict syndrome and are persistently striving to acquire knowledge, taking on board not only new ideas, but everything sensible that has been developed by all the generations of party members. And there is something to gain from them. And, contrary to the widespread assertions of certain pseudo-innovators, there is also much that can be learned from them.

[Chernyak] All the problems of life eventually "come back" to ideology. This sphere of the CPSU's activity came under perhaps the fiercest criticism at the 28th congress. What must be done to remedy the situation?

[Sokolov] True, our ideologists are falling down on the job. But in what way? I think all of us, in particular the professional party workers, have not fully grapsed that perestroyka is the main ideology. When it began, we at the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee moved away from diktat and granted party organizations the right to seek for themselves their forms of ideological work. But they proved unprepared for this. And we did not help. So we were "becalmed," from above and below.

In my view it is important now to think about how to revive in people a truly Leninist understanding of the party and protect it from undeserved attacks. In this connection it is necessary radically to change the system of political education. It should listen to the roar from the squares and understand the passions of the streets. The party press should do much to explain the real values of perestroyka and protect it against progressive anticommunism. It is necessary through the mass media to give party organizations clear politial guidelines and clarify the market formula, which I would define thus: Freedom for the strong, plus protection for the weak. And we must answer the other complex questions of life. Without a single day's delay, we must unleash the party's enormous intellectual potential and shift the center of all our work to the masses.

[Chernyak] Shift the center of all our work to the masses? We proclaimed that before, too. But how is it to be done today?

[Sokolov] Broad public dialogue is needed. The time for monologues has gone beyond recall. Of course, in the conditions of an unstable consumer market and a highly charged society, in the atmosphere of polarization of social forces, unease, and unremitting persecution of the party, this is immeasurably more difficult, but all the more necessary. It is necessary to go not only to the labor collectives, educational establishments, and workers' and students' hostels, but even, if necessary, to families. It is necessary to develop a feeling for people's lives and mood, to try to put yourself in the place of a specific individual, to put yourself in his position and help him at the least opportunity.

An essential condition in working with people is to talk the language of truth to them, however painful it may be, and to act conscientiously. Only thus, by living with the people an expressing and upholding their interests, will the party find support among them for its policy, regain their trust, restore its prestige, and establish, rather than proclaiming, its vanguard role.

[Chernyak] At the congress there were voices calling for the depoliticization of the Army, the KGB, and the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs]. What is your attitude to this problem?

[Sokolov] I remember how the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution on early demobilization of former students from the ranks of the Armed Forces. I returned from Moscow to Minsk, and a member of the Red Banner Belorussian Military District Military Council said to me: The okrug command has received a great many letters whose authors ask permission to complete their term of service, while others want to train their replacements... It is the same with the depoliticization of the Army, KGB, and MVD. After all, no one asked the communists serving and working in those organs whether they wanted this or not. That is democracy for you.

I am convinced that if they take away a real communist's party card or suspend his party membership temporarily, he will pursue party policy all the same. After all, a communist is not simply a person with a party card. It is a person with convictions, as is convincingly indicated by the toughest chapters in our history. And the present day.

[Chernyak] The most urgent question for the republic is Chernobyl. The informals are making complaints against the leadership for sluggishness, and threatening to take proceedings, including judicial proceedings, against some people. Are there any grounds for such statements? And what is being done to ensure the speediest elimination of the disaster's consequences?

[Sokolov] I would like to clarify the emphasis in your question. It is not only the informals, but also the republic leadership who are making complaints to the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the country's former government for poor participation in eliminating the consequences of the Chernobyl disaster. I said at the 28th congress and I repeat here: Until recently the center left Belorussia and its people to cope with the disaster alone. Everything that had any relevance to this topic was kept secret, and it was not easy for the republic leadership to break through this wall of secrecy.

On the initiative of the Belorussian delegation, the congress gave a political assessment of the disaster and the course of work to eliminate its consequences. I believe that a legal assessment should be given by the USSR Prosecutor's Office. You cannot successfully tackle the problems of perestroyka in the republic unless its people know the whole truth about Chernobyl and the real culprits to blame for the tragedy, unless those who pursue a policy of genocide against people by insisting on the 35-rem concept are called firmly to account.

And now, about what is being done in the republic. In a short space of time we must resettle 118,000 people from 527 settlements. Some 46 modern settlements are currently under construction in clean zones. Some 20 percent of the new housing being erected in the republic is allocated on a priority basis to the evacuees. Am additional target has been set for the construction ministries to erect 1,110 apartments for this purpose at the expense of a reduction in industrial construction. The other day the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet adopted a decision "On Measures To Accelerate the Implementation of the State Program for Overcoming the Consequences of the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station Disaster in the Belorussian SSR." But let me stress: These are only the first steps, and much work lies ahead.

'Parliamentary Opposition' Forms in Belorussia

LD2807200190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Jul 90

[Text] From 1 September, the State Acceptance bodies will be abolished in Belorussia. This decision was adopted at a session of the republican Supreme Soviet. The deputies also introduced amendments and addenda to the Civil Code, the Code of Criminal Procedure, and to a number of legislative acts protecting the interests of women, the family, and children. A draft law was adopted on the rights of Belorussian citizens who suffered as a result of the catastrophe at Chernobyl Nuclear Electric Power Station.

Yesterday, the establishment of a parliamentary opposition and also of a party group of the Supreme Soviet was announced. This consists of 160 communist deputies. One of the chief tasks of the new group is to consolidate the efforts of communist deputies around the program statement of the 28th CPSU Congress.

Belorussian Government Program Submitted

LD3007212690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 30 Jul 90

[Text] The new Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Government program has been submitted to deputies of the republican Supreme Soviet by Kebich, chairman of the Council of Ministers. The program is aimed mainly at the implementation of Belorussian sovereignty, as proclaimed by its Supreme Soviet. A comprehensive plan was drawn up for realization of the concept of economic independence of the republic and of a transfer to a market economy.

The conclusion by August of the preparation of a draft agreement with the USSR on issues of ownership, the use of natural resources and environmental protection, tax and credit policy, and the transfer to the center on the basis of treaties of individual functions is envisaged. This primarily concerns military industrial sectors, where the output of production must be carried out on the basis of contractual relations between the government of the Belorussian SSR and the Union ministries.

In the program the central elements of the transitional period to a market economy are described as the decentralization of ownership and comprehensive support of enterprise. At the first stage the emphasis will be on leasing and joint-stock and mixed enterprises.

Some 10-12 percent of loss-making and uneconomic [malorentabelnykh] enterprises in mechanical engineering, the chemical and light industry are intended to be transferred to collective ownership. The government considers it expedient to sell 560 temporarily closed-down construction projects worth approximately 1 billion rubles and in a number of cases to transfer them to interested persons to set up people's and private enterprises on their foundations, in some cases with the participation of foreign capital.

In the spheres of services, public catering, the food and light industry, and the production of consumer goods, the redemption of certain small enterprises by collectives and citizens is possible.

The situation regarding the provision of the republic with agricultural produce has been very complicated since the Chernobyl disaster. This necessitates the acceleration of Belorussia's transfer to a system of long-term treaties with other republics. In the opinion of the government, supplies of animal husbandry production to the all-Union fund should be carried out on the basis of equivalent exchanges, including for hard currency.

An extremely tense situation has developed in the Belorussian consumer market. Many goods are being exported beyond the republic's borders. For the protection of the populace, the internal market for the basic types of goods will be closed in all probability.

The production of personal ration books is being completed, by means of which only inhabitants of Belorussia will be able to acquire goods in short supply. Regulated sale will be expanded, and if, even after this, the situation does not alter, the government of the Belorussian SSR does not exclude the possibility of the introduction of its own currency into circulation in the republic.

Belorussian Supreme Soviet Appoints Officials

LD3107094590 Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belorussian 20 Jul 90 p 1

[Summary] The supreme Soviet of the Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] resolves to appoint:

Vladislav Sergeyevich Pilyuta as deputy chairman of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers;

Fedor Petrovich Senko, chairman of the State Committee for Agriculture and Foodstuffs of the Belorussian SSR, as deputy chairman of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers;

Nina Nikolayevna Mazay as deputy chairman of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers;

Mikhail Vladimirovich Myasnikovich as deputy chairman of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers;

Stanislav Vasilyevich Bril as deputy chairman of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers;

Vladimir Ivanovich Borodich as minister of transport of the Belorussian SSR;

Stepan Petrovich Yanchuk as minister of finances of the Belorussian SSR;

Vladimir Demyanovich Yegorov as minister of interior of the Belorussian SSR; and

Yevgeniy Konstantinovich Voytovich as minister of culture of the Belorussian SSR.

Belorussia Decides To Publish Plenum Report

90UN2362A Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 20 Jun 90 p 1

[Decision of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau: "The Report at the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee 20th Plenum 'The Draft CPSU Central Committee Platform and Party Rules for 28th CPSU Congress and the Results of Their Discussion in the Belorussian Communist Party'"]

[Text] To consider it expedient to publish in the republic and oblast papers the report at the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee 20th Plenum, which was held 23 June 1990, for familiarization of the members and candidates of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, members of the Belorussian Communist Party Auditing Commission, delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress and the communist and working people of the republic.

[Signed] Ye. Sokolov, secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee.
[Dated] 18 June 1990.

Radiation Testing Stations Set Up in Minsk

LD3107081790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 31 Jul 90

[Summary] Minsk—Independent radiation monitoring stations have started up to analyze produce for the presence of radionucleids. As of August, they will be able to offer a comprehensive screening of enterprises, houses, dachas, and gardens. The spread of such stations is being held up by authorities' tardiness in offering accommodation.

Moldavian Supreme Soviet Session Reviewed

PM3007145590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Eduard Kondratov under the rubric "Direct Link": "Policy of Depoliticization"]

[Text] Kishinev—The final sittings of the First Moldova SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Session, which began back in April, were characterized by very acute disagreements which elicited an immediate public response.

Whereas the heated debate over a law to protect the domestic market—in other words, on rigid export quotas and the licensing of output produced in Moldova—ended in its adoption, it took two days to approve a decree on state authority.

The sharp polemic, which was sometimes of a frontal political nature, was relayed over the radio, and its course had an instant effect on the mood of the many hundreds of city people who had gathered in front of the Supreme Soviet building. There were even firebrands who induced the already electrified masses to commit illegal actions. The militia used nightsticks, and stones were thrown at them. The events, which assumed the nature of a mass anticommunist action, spread to the Moldova Communist Party Central Committee building. It was with tremendous difficulty that the people's deputies and the republic's leaders managed to subdue passions and neutralize the situation.

The decree on authority was adopted. Leaders of organs of power and management have henceforth lost the right to hold any posts in political parties and public movements. This ban will affect not only party workers but also members of the People's Front who today hold a number of leading posts in the republic. According to the decree, judges and law-enforcement organ workers will have to end their membership of parties and public movements. The activity of workplace party organizations is deemed inadmissible.

One of the most painful questions for the republic today was debated for a long time—the question of Gagauz autonomy. As long ago as last November an extraordinary congress of representatives of the Gagauz people announced the formation of the Gagauz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic within the Moldavian SSR. Deputies' commissions of the republic Supreme Soviet began studying Gagauz problems. Their joint conclusion has now been confirmed by parliament. The demands for the creation of a Gagauz autonomous republic or oblast were rejected. Something different was recommended: when implementing the administrative-territorial reform which is taking shape in Moldova, to unite population centers where there is a concentrated population of Gagauz and Bulgarians into a single administrative unit.

Caucasus

Coverage Continues on Samtredia Station Blockade

Warning of More Strikes

LD3007151290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 30 Jul 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] Members of informal groups are continuing to blockade the railway at the Samtredia station in Georgia. [passage omitted]

According to a report from the INTERFAX agency, an unsanctioned meeting was held in Tbilisi on Sunday evening, at which about 400 people took part. The participants in the meeting were informed that a meeting is slated for 30 July between the leaders of the informal associations. They are the ones who are organizing the blockade, and Givi Gumbaridze, first secretary of the Communist Party of Georgia Central Committee. [sentence as heard] Those who spoke at the meeting warned that if the demands of the informal groups concerning the adoption of a law on multiparty elections are not met, strikes will be organized throughout Georgia.

Situation 'Not Improving'

LD3007165390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 30 Jul 90

[Text] The situation on the trans-Caucasian railway in the region of Samtredia Station remains tense. We have already reported that representatives of informal organizations are blocking traffic along the railway, demanding extraordinary elections to the Georgian parliament on a multiparty basis. Because of the obstruction, dozens of trains have accumulated and more than 25,000 passengers—women and children—have been condemned to sit in carriages without elementary living conditions, without the possibility of travelling home. What is the situation like now? Yuriy Ivanovich Vorobyev, head of a section of the Main Administration for Internal Affairs for Transportation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Ministry of Internal Affairs, talks about this on the telephone.

[Vorobyev] The situation on the trans-Caucasian railway, unfortunately, is not improving. As before, train traffic through the stations of Samtredia and Suhkumi is being blocked. By this morning 32 freight and 12 passenger trains were idle at Samtredia Station and its approaches, and at Sukhumi three freight and two passenger trains [were idle]. For more than 24 hours representatives of informal organizations have been conducting talks, but so far they are not leading to positive results. As far as Samtredia is concerned, since 26 July about 100 people have continued to block traffic on the railway here. They are demanding the convocation of an extraordinary session of the republican Supreme Soviet. We are pinning hopes on common sense. After all, it must not be forgotten, that this is not simply a breach of the law. In the final analysis, this seriously disturbs the economy, not only of the region, but of the county as a whole. And this will tell in the end on provision of vital commodities to the inhabitants of the republic themselves.

Government Appeals to Citizens

LD3007190690 Moscow TASS in English 1818 GMT 30 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondent Tengiz Djibuti]

[Text] Tbilisi July 30 TASS—The Council of Ministers of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic today appealed to the population of this Caucasian Republic.

The appeal says, among other things, that the situation has been seriously aggravated lately. The protection of law and order has worsened. Frequent attempts on people's lives are being made, thefts, robberies, rackets and other grave crimes proliferate.

Criminals and young men have accumulated considerable amounts of weaponry and munitions, including explosives. Attempts have been made to form armed gangs. Militiamen, the military, security force depots and civil installations have been assaulted in order to seize arms. Criminals are defiling the national movement's noble aims.

The republican government has adopted a resolution specifying measures to normalise the situation in the republic.

The presidium of the Council of Ministers of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic met yesterday to discuss ways to ensure the implementation of the Soviet president's decree to ban armed formations not envisaged by the Soviet law and confiscate unlawfully possessed arms.

It was decided to set up republican headquarters to supervise the implementation of the presidential decree of July 25, 1990. The centre, headed by Georgian Prime Minister Nodari Chitana Va, will include the leaders of security forces.

Other measures are identified to change the situation in the republic for the better and involve broad public in the accomplishment of this urgent task.

The Georgian government considers that it is possible to overcome the crisis only if the entire Georgian people, the entire population of the republic becomes fully aware of the danger implicit in the current situation.

Decision To Stop Loading

LD3007191790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 30 Jul 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Today at the USSR Ministry of Railways a press conference was held at which Deputy Minister Ginko cited the following facts. Since 26 July when the blockade started more than 200 trains have been held up. This is 10,000 railcars. Almost 500,000 tonnes of freight have not been dispatched from Georgia with a value of R180 million. Trains carrying consumer goods, medicines, petrol and wheat which have been caught in the blockade, are not guarded. People on passenger trains have found themselves without food and medical aid. And now a fragment of the press conference.

[Begin Ginko recording] Today 46 trains, that is long distance ones, have already failed to be dispatched from various points in the country to the Transcaucasian railway. The same number of long distance trains did not depart from centers in Georgia. We have estimated that we did not satisfy the transport requirements of approximately 100,000 people.

We took a decision yesterday at the collegium—we held a collegium on Sunday—we adopted a decision to stop the loading of all freight for Georgia. We understand that this is a difficult step, but there is no alternative. Today we are submitting a proposal to the government that part of the railcars transporting goods that might be subject to spoilage and plundering, that there should be a decision taken on such freight, that it should handed over to other republics, krays, and oblasts, because practically everything that is standing idle at the present time in these deserted trains are all goods in short supply. They are things that are all needed in any place in our country. [end recording]

Student Specifies Demands

LD3007201590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 30 Jul 90

[Video report by M. Gongadze from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] As regards the situation on the Transcaucasian railway, since 26 July at the station of Samtredia a group of members of informal groups have been blockading the railroad. We have already acquainted you with their demands. But today we will hear what the participants in the events have to say themselves.

[I. Malashvili, participant in the action, student at Tbilisi University—identified by screen caption] This action has one demand, the holding of democratic elections in Georgia and the adoption of a law on democratic elections, the publication of the draft law in the official press. As you know, a hunger strike was staged by five students in Georgia for this reason. Then a special commission of the Georgian Supreme Soviet was set up at which that law was discussed.

The draft law had allegedly already been adopted, it should have been submitted to the session, but at the last minute the Government of Georgia refused to hold the session on time and postponed the session and refused to submit that draft law to the session at all. They are not publishing it in the official press for nationwide discussion. The strikes that are currently being staged in Tbilisi and other towns in the republic, including Samtredia, are connected precisely with these demands and, if these demands are not satisfied, then probably in a few days the action will assume more of a mass nature in connection with these demands, or with the holding of democratic elections in Georgia, the publishing of this draft law in the official press, or the resignation of the government. [video shows scenes in front of a large building and interview with student]

Rail Ministry News Conference

LD3007225190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2038 GMT 30 Jul 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] We have already reported in our bulletins that on 26 July train traffic was interrupted near the junction station of Samtredia by a group of informal associations and organizations of the Georgian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. For the fourth day running they are preventing the normal rhythem of transportation in this extremely important direction on the Transcausian mainline railway.

As was reported today at the press conference held at the Ministry of Railways in Moscow, 25,000 passengers have been caught up in the blockade and more than 500,000 tonnes of freight.

[Begin recording of V.N. Ginko, USSR deputy minister of railways] The subject of our meeting is the fact that at the moment the highly complicated situation is continuing on the Transcaucasian railway. Unfortunately, at 0610 hours [time not further specified] these same groups stopped the exchange of trains between Georgia and Azerbaijan at the station of Beyuk, having blocked the work of the control posts at the Tbilisi marshalling station and the Tbilisi railway department. In particular, at this moment a group of ten men has broken into the railway department building. Each controller has had an observer, as it were, posted to him, who prohibits any kind of work from being organized.

We have already reported that we have taken every measure to get people out of the blockaded trains—and at present 13 passenger trains have been blockaded, which we cannot come to the assistance of in any way—we have managed to take a certain number of passengers from those trains on buses and motor launches provided by Black Sea people on the river. We have started to send off some of the passengers by air. Today one flight has already departed from Adler to Yerevan. But at this very moment, there are a thousand people in the trains nonetheless. [end recording]

50 Trains at 'Standstill'

LD3107112490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0400 GMT 31 Jul 90

[Text] For the fourth day in succession, about 50 trains are at a standstill at Samtredia station on the Trans-Caucasian Railway. Of these, 17 are passenger trains. They contain people, and urgent freight for Georgia and Armenia. Some 1,200O tank cars containing fuel oil for export via the port of Batumi are at a standstill.

Who has created this emergency situation? A group of representatives of Georgia's political associations has put a complete stop to movement along this main line. Those who initiated the traffic hold-up justify their action by the fact that democratic elections in the republic were threatened with breakdown through the fault of the official authorities. Inadequate politicians have primarily dealt blows to their fellow citizens, Akhadkin, deputy head of the transportation directorate said when commenting on the actions of the picketers.

Passenger, suburban, and freight trains cannot get to Tbilisi, Sukhumi, Batumi, Tskhaltuba, and Zestafoni. In Batumi and Poti the unloading and shipping of imported grain for Georgia has stopped. In the next few days, if the rival sides do not reach an agreement and permit traffic to resume, there could be interruptions to the republic's supplies of meat, milk, sugar, flour, grain, gasoline, aviation fuel, and medical supplies.

Cost of Blockade Outlined

PM3107124590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Jul 90 Second Edition p 1

[Report by V. Parfenov under the "Emergency Situation" rubric: "Tents Pitched Across Rails"]

[Text] Around 50 trains, 17 of them passenger trains, have been waiting for four days at the Transcaucasian Railroad's Samtredia Station. They are carrying people, urgent freight for Georgia and Armenia, and 1,200 tanks of fuel oil to be shipped through the port of Batumi for export. Who has created this emergency situation and how is it to be removed? USSR Minister of Railways N.S. Konarev answers these questions:

"Tents pitched across the tracks have paralyzed transport movement. A group of representatives of irresponsible Georgian political formations have brought traffic on the main line to a complete standstill. The main line in that area has been cut off from the railroad network. As a result Georgia failed in just one to receive 1,400 carloads of grain, sugar, and other food and industrial goods. Hundreds of tank cars containing fuel are lying idle, although there are endless lines at the gasoline pumps in the cities and villages.

"I do not think that any political demands, including demands to call a special session of the republic Supreme Soviet, can or should cause enormous losses to the economy of the whole country. The instigators of this irresponsible operation, which has caused damage in many millions of rubles, should be quickly exposed, named, and made criminally accountable.

"Owing to the blocking of the main line the ministry has been forced to stop the dispatch of all trains there. Urgent measures are being taken to ensure that passengers there reach their destinations.

"I expect the law-enforcement agencies of the republic and the Union to clear the route of tents very soon and reliably protect the tracks for the normal transportation of passengers and freight."

Gumbaridze Cited on Elections, Possible 'Anarchy'

LD3007145290 Moscow TASS in English 1405 GMT 30 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondent Paata Arctivadze]

[Text] Tbilisi July 30 TASS—The confrontation between Georgia's government and opposition parties over forthcoming general elections has put the country on the brink of anarchy and threatens to grow into an armed conflict, Georgian President Givi Gumbaridze said in a statement published in Tbilisi.

On Sunday, Zviad Gamsakhurdia, the leader of the Round Table Political Movement and the Georgian Helsinki Union, said in a televised interview that the opposition has only one demand—fair, democratic, multiparty elections.

"The republic's leadership relies on outdated principles of organising an election campaign. It unilaterally stopped consultations with the opposition forces in preparing a Georgian law on elections," he said.

According to an official announcement, the Georgian parliament will go into session on August 17, when it is expected to vote on a new election bill.

The Round Table movement believes the parliament should convene no later than August 7, saying that the bill should be pubished for a nation-wide discussion. In this it is supported by Georgia's Popular Front.

To protest the official policy, the opposition blocked the traffic at the Samtredia key rail station.

Picketing will continue until Givi Gumbaridze, who is also Georgian Communist Party leader, meets protesters and their demands are satisfied, Gamsakhurdia said.

Protest at Georgia's rail roads "destabilises the situation, is a heavy burden on the republic's social and economic life and worsens the economic crisis," according to a government statement.

The picketing at the Samtredia station has left more than a hundred trains idle, including more than 30 passenger trains and 90 trains with grain, butter, sugar, meat and petrol.

Protesters, are demanding that the parliament convenes an emergency session to pass a bill on a multiparty system.

"The confrontation has reached a dangerous peak. An armed confrontation is not excluded. This could lead to anarchy and chaos and to terrible, unpredictable consequences," Gumbaridze said in a statement to Georgia's public and political organisations.

Gumbaridze called on the sides to show maximum political prudence and responsibility and abide by the current laws in order to avert further deterioration and a threat to civil peace and do everything possible to consolidate healthy national forces and reach the goals of Georgia's national-state development.

No Quorum at Abkhazia Supreme Soviet Session

LD3007215790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2038 GMT 30 Jul 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] [Announcer] Incidentally the press has also cited data that owing to the absence of a quorum at the sessions of Supreme Soviets it frequently happens that it is impossible to hold a vote. However, unexpected turns of events also take place. Nana Gongadze from Abkhazia.

[Gongadze] Our film crew has arrived in Sukhumi to cover the course of the work of the 10th session of the Supreme Soviet of Abkhazia. But for some reason the session did not take place, and now I have the possibility of finding out why that happened, moreover.

[Begin recording] [N. Mgalobshvili, Georgian Supreme Soviet deputy] Well, first and foremost the session did not take place because there was no quorum. For that at least half of the deputies needed to be present.

[Gongadze] And how many were there?

[Mgalobshvili] All in all, there are 140 deputies of the Supreme Soviet of Abkhazia. Of them it was necessary that 71 should be present, but there were 13 people lacking.

[Gongadze] What do you think? Why didn't the participants in that session come?

[Mgalobshvili] There was an agenda where the secession of Abkhazia from Georgia was directly mentioned. As you know, last year this led to the well known July events, tragic events. Therefore the people do not desire, so to speak, more blood, to put it like that, they do not desire more confrontation and the people think that the membership of the Supreme Soviet can be elected anew now, and only the new membership of the Supreme Soviet can outline, so to speak, further ways of improving the political situation in Abkhazia. [video shows aircraft on the tarmac at Sukhumi airport with Gongadze interviewing Mgalobshvili outside at the airport] [end recording]

Armenian SSR Discusses President's Decree

No Voluntary Arms Surrender

LD3007165190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 30 Jul 90

[Excerpts] The session of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet embarked today on a discussion of the USSR president's decree on the prohibition of the creation of armed formations not envisaged by USSR legislation and on confiscation of illegally held weapons.

According to reports arriving at the Main Directorate of Internal Troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, since the publication in the press of this presidential decree there has been no voluntary surrender of weapons.

In Osh Oblast of Kirghizia, 17 firearms have been confiscated in the last three days; in a number of areas where the situation on the ground is difficult there are active explanation sessions being held on the requirements of the USSR president's decree. Representatives of the commandant's office of the area of the emergency situation of Nagorno-Karabakh have met with workers of the SOVETSKIY KARABAKH paper. A dialogue with television and radio workers is planned too.

Unfortunately the work of explanation is not yet yielding positive results. Worrying reports continue to come in from Armenia. [passage omitted] The papers are publishing materials aimed at slandering the Soviet Army and internal troops. This was demonstrated most clearly in the materials of a discussion in the republican paper, KOMSOMOLETS. It was stated that one of the factors hindering our national unification is the presence of the Soviet Army on the territory of Armenia, which is interfering in our national liberation movement, and that the internal troops are behaving impudently in the republic, especially in the border areas. There are many similar comments. [passage omitted]

New Draft Resolution Endorsed

NC3107091790 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 30 Jul 90

[Excerpts] During the morning session of the Armenian Supreme Soviet today [30 July], presiding Chairman Robert Amiryan, chairman of the central electoral commission, briefed the session on the results of the 29 July repeat elections held in 21 okrugs. He mentioned that so far the preliminary results of the elections in 12 okrugs are known and these are being verified. No candidate received majority votes in five okrugs and there is no information from four okrugs so far.

The session heard a report from Grant Khachatryan, chairman of the interim commission for operative control of the situation in the republic, about the latest situation in the republic. Some of the information was officially refuted by the republic's Internal Affairs Ministry during the evening session.

The morning session also decided to continue to debate the interim standing orders of the Supreme Soviet. [passage omitted]

During the evening session discussion of the standing orders was suspended at the suggestion of Deputy Sarkis Muradyan. The Supreme Soviet then began discussing two versions of a draft resolution presented by the commission created in connection with the decree of the president of the USSR. Heated debate developed around these draft resolutions and the session was suspended.

During the recess our colleague Mavr Danielyan interviewed the deputies and asked them to comment on much-debated Article 16 of the standing orders and the draft resolutions presented on the decree of the USSR president.

[Begin recording] [Danielyan] I am now conversing with republic People's Deputy Rafayel Ishkhanyan. [passage omitted] Our people are facing a danger, the president's new decree about which draft resolutions have been prepared. What do you have to say about that?

[Ishkhanyan] The speakers at the session said that we must first decide on the political status of our state. After that, the answer to that question will be easy. That is, if we are declaring the independence of Armenia then the decree of the president does not in general concern us. However, if we are going to declare independence while remaining in the USSR structure then we still have the right to debate the Moscow's decisions in our Supreme Soviet and make relevant decisions. That is, the decisions of our Supreme Soviet override the arrangements coming from Moscow. The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet made a decision like this and it has annulled some of Moscow's decisions. As regards the draft versions that were submitted, I think they will have some significance although our new letter to the Russian monarch.... [changes thought] All these letters and complaints sent to Moscow either do not get there or if they do get there are totally ignored. In any case, the president will not dare to take steps that would put our people in critical danger. I am convinced he will not dare to do that. If he does, in spite of everything, I think he will receive a counter blow [hakaharvats]. [passage omitted] [end recording]

During the evening session the Supreme Soviet also decided to recognize the credentials of Baruyr Ayrikyan elected people's deputy from No. 192 okrug. The republic's government was instructed to resolve the problem of the return of Ayrikyan to Armenia within a week.

The session also heard a report from the secretariat concerning the complaints and proposals addressed to the Supreme Soviet.

Based on the many proposals about the suspension of the president's decree in our republic, Deputy Grant Khachatryan presented a new draft resolution which was endorsed by the Supreme Soviet after partial amendments.

The Supreme Soviet will continue its deliberations tomorrow [31 July].

Decree on Arms 'Suspended'

LD3107124690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1130 GMT 31 Jul 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of Armenia has suspended the validity of the USSR president's decree banning the formation of armed groups not provided for under USSR legislation.

The situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] remains difficult; after the promulgation of the presidential decree, the military is expecting the situation to deteriorate.

Armenian Word To Replace Parliamentary 'Deputy'

NC3107131890 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 30 Jul 90

[Text] Yerevan, 30 Jul (ARMENPRES)—The terminology committee attached to the Armenian Council of Ministers has decided to reinstate the use of the Armenian word patgamavor as a state-administrative term. Instead of the term deputy and its derivatives deputation, deputational, and similar words, the terms patgamavor [deputy], patgamavorutyun [deputation], and patgamavorakan [deputational], and so forth, will be used.

Army Paper Urges Negotiations With Guerrillas

PM3007123590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Jul 90 Second Edition p 2

[Article by correspondent Lieutenant Colonel O. Falichev under the rubric "Lithuania-Armenia: The Political Situation": "Weapons in Guerrillas' Hands"]

[Text] It so happens that I recently visited two opposite ends of the country one after the other—Lithuania and Armenia. Thousands of kilometers apart, these republics are similar in terms of the sociopolitical processes taking place in them.

And yet, as a military man, I was more interested in how this affects the Army. What can it, as well as society as a whole, expect from the militarized formations which are growing like mushrooms after rain? Let us state bluntly that we have encountered nothing like this in 73 years of Soviet power. But then we suddenly learn that certain republics already have their own commanders in chief, and their armies numbering thousands of men are armed with modern automatic weapons. What is the legal basis of such formations, and what are their aims and tasks? Finally, what is their relationship with Soviet Army servicemen fulfilling their constitutional duty on the territory of these republics?

If we look at Lithuania, its parliament has succeeded in legislatively supporting the process of forming military formations. In particular, the Lithuanian Republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium has adopted the resolution "On Security Protection Services for the Lithuanian Republic's Leadership, Its Structure, Its Basic Functions, and Its Status." There are other parliamentary decisions concerning the creation of its own army which, however, let us emphasize, are contrary to our state's laws. And this means that they do not have the force of law. At least, as long as Lithuania is in the Union.

What do the security protection services do? The information subunits, for example, carry out active work gathering, analyzing, and accumulating information, forecasting the situation, and issuing recommendations to the leadership on fettering and neutralizing the legitimate actions of the law-enforcement organs and the Soviet Army. An active process of seeking arms is now under way. So their activity is far from harmless, as it may seem to some people. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has reported on the selection and hiring of "recruits," the nature of their service, and their pay in such subunits in the report "Do Not Call Us Guerrillas." It should merely be added that organs of the republic MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] have recently been taking an increasingly active part in the creation of combat structures—which ensures a clear-cut planned and structured nature and, figuratively speaking, a legal cover for these processes. The republic's mass media have mounted a shameful anti-Army campaign in parallel with this, the spring draft was blocked, and people are demanding that the "occupiers" go home. Servicemen here have already been deprived of many social rights, and provocations are being organized against them and their families, even including direct violence and the burning of apartments. Servicemen display very great restraint and self-control. But if the sociopolitical situation in Lithuania continues to develop in this direction, it is hard to predict the consequences.

Unfortunately, this is precisely what has already happened in Armenia, where political processes have assumed, to put it mildly, a more tragic hue. What are the realities there?

Picture a sunny street in Yerevan, numerous passersby, mothers and grandmothers strolling with children, and here too people in uniform with combat submachineguns captured from military units, carbines, hunting rifles.... Or vehicles commandeered from military and civilian people confidently being driven around the city without license plates, and houses in the city where the staffs of militarized formations calmly function. When you first encounter this, you think that you have come across shooting for some movie thriller with shoot-outs and chases. Yes, shooting is audible in the streets at night. Only this is no director's scheme but, alas, reality. As a rule, they shoot at and attack only the people in shoulder boards, who just 18 months ago were risking their lives to drag their countrymen from under the ruins of houses after the earthquake here. The attacks, hijacks, and thefts of weapons have long been happening by the dozen. And the number of servicemen injured and killed in the Transcaucasus is no longer in single figures. The guerrillas stop at nothing in their desire to obtain weapons. They sometimes resort to the most vile and base methods: They dress up in ensigns' uniforms, put on physicians' white coats, take hostages.... Where is the guarantee that, as well as leading still more bloodshed, this activity, on the brink of armed conflict, will not also exacerbate the situation throughout the region? There is no such guarantee. What is more, with the growth in the number of militarized formations as they splinter and with internecine strife, the danger of new bloodshed is becoming real.

More than six different armed formations are already operating in Armenia, and some of them bluntly call themselves armies and have adequate quantities of weapons, ammunition, and military hardware. The ANA [Armenian National Army], for example.

There is the Armenian Pannational Movement military formation with a command staff, security service, special-purpose detachments.... The Independence Army of the National Self-Determination Organization, the "Sasuntsi David" guerrilla detachments, the armed detachments of the "Dashnaktsutyun" party.... But the Third Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet came out unequivocally against the creation of republics' own armies. Finally, the country's president has made an appropriate assessment of this. Something else is also universally recognized: Criminal elements, sometimes impossible to distinguish from the rest, are working increasingly frequently, as it were, for the fedayeen (defenders of the motherland). Operating under the flag of the fedayeen and in their name, they pursue their own narrow mercenary ends and carry out armed attacks and murders. And this is probably the hardest thing now: to recognize who is who without offending national feelings.

All this attests that such detachments must disband and lay down their arms.

However, not everything here is as simple as it might seem. First, almost all the detachments came into being at a time of burgeoning national awareness. And although various people made use of this for their own purposes, clearly it is the people alone, and their parliament above all, who must decide their future fate. Second, the detachments will not give up their weapons of their own accord, and blood will again be shed if an attempt is made to take them by force. But what is left?

Many people in Armenia, and not only there, are now asking this question. Because things cannot go on the way they are. When blood is being shed and many inhabitants are literally demoralized by the raging violence. And not just civilians. There is no denying that even the servicemen try to avoid having anything to do with those who stroll about with weapons. The "Tbilisi syndrome" is alive among officers. But, of course, the chief reason lies elsewhere. It is not the Army's task to fight against its own people. The law-enforcement organs exist to instill order.

When speaking of the status of the officer and the serviceman in general in the republic, it has unfortunately to be admitted that it is simply becoming a danger to life to wear a military uniform here. It is not for nothing that officers are permitted to carry weapons. But this does not change the situation. Each one has a family, children. Who would protect them if something unforeseen were to happen?

All the same, hundreds and thousands of firearms must not be left in the hands of irresponsible elements whose actions are unpredictable and ungovernable. What does the leadership of the republic's law-enforcement organs think about this?

"In order to disarm the guerrillas a political decision is required," A. Sarkisov, chief of the Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] MVD Organizational-Inspection Administration, replied. "But there is none, although the republic MVD has repeatedly submitted specific proposals to the relevant bodies."

It turns out that the MVD is still powerless to undertake anything. What of the prosecutor's office? Unfortunately, we heard nothing comforting at the Armenian SSR Prosecutor's Office either. We merely had the following data confirmed. More than 200 cases of attacks on servicemen for the purpose of capturing weapons and combat hardware were recorded in the republic in a six-month period. More than 2,000 firearms were stolen, in which connection hundreds of criminal cases have been instituted. But only a few have been brought to trial. Why? There is no eyewitness base: People are afraid to testify.

"The law-enforcement organs have now lost control over the situation," V. Orekhov, Armenian SSR first deputy prosecutor, stated with regret in conversation with us. "We have encountered a force which does not obey the laws."

And so, in speaking about Armenia, we must evidently admit that a new political situation has now taken shape there, when party, soviet, and even law-enforcement organs no longer fully possess either the strength, or the influence, or the potential to do anything. When a defenseless person is left practically one-on-one with an armed person. Is there no way out?

By the end of my trip I realized that I could not write an article without visiting the leaders of at least one of the armed formations. R. Vasilyan, commander in chief of the ANA, agreed to receive KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's correspondent. And there I was in the ANA headquarters, located next to Komitas Avenue, in downtown Yerevan. I was met by a group of armed people who, so they said, obey no one but their own commander. And I heard roughly the same thing later from Vasilyan himself. In a conversation lasting more than half an hour he said that they want one thing: order in the republic and the prevention of economic and political chaos. Therefore they were forced not only to defend the borders but also to struggle against the mafia. The commander in chief also said that he was ready to seek a compromise with the authorities and even to lay down his powers if a democratically elected parliament so decided.

Even without making an assessment of these words it is possible to draw the conclusion that there are points of contact and the possibility of finding a common language and arriving at the necessary solution without confrontation. And, evidently, not just with the ANA but also with other armed formations which, whether we like it or not, constitute a real political and military force which cannot be disregarded. So would it not be more sensible to avoid bloodshed by coming round the negotiating table?

At a recent briefing in Moscow USSR Internal Affairs Minister V. Bakatin replied to a question on the prospects for improving the situation in the region by once again urging the leaders of Armenia and Azerbaijan to make direct contacts. This is essential. But talks on an interrepublican level might not begin for a year or two. Until then are we to let them shoot at our sons fulfilling the role of shock-absorber on the border? I personally have little hope that a political decision to disarm the guerrillas will be adopted in Armenia, although many correct words are being said about this. True, there is hope from the new parliament in the republic, the elections to which were recently concluded in the main. But it will be a long time before it develops its lawmaking activity. At the same time USSR People's Deputy, Fleet Admiral V. Chernavin, commander in chief of the Navy and USSR deputy defense minister, long ago proposed introducing a state of emergency on the territory where the two republics adjoin, thereby creating a zone of peace and tranquillity. In short, there are many ways to seek peace. Just one thing is criminal and immoral: inaction.

In his address to the nation following what happened at Yerevan Railroad Station V. Movsisyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, warned: If we do not halt the raging violence, we will not avoid a civil war. I would very much like his words not to be prophetic. Although such a danger does exist, not only for Armenia. Here is a statement by Academician S. Shatalin, member of the USSR Presidential Council: "A civil war in a country crammed with launch complexes and nuclear electric power stations would be no joke [eto vam ne shashki von, marsh-marsh].... History will repeat itself, only not as farce or even as tragedy, but as supertragedy."

How can this be prevented? Above all, the law must operate. In no society, even the most democratic, is a casual attitude to the law permitted. The strength and authority of a civilized system consist in the efficient working of its state structures and in respect for and observance of them. Without this it is hardly possible to count on stability.

Azerbaijan Elections Postponed Until 30 Sep

LD3007202590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 30 Jul 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The elections of people's deputies for the Soviet Azerbaijan parliament and republic local soviets will not be held on 2 September, as decided at the previous Supreme Soviet session, but at the end of the month, on 30 September. This decision was adopted following stormy debates at an Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet session in Baku today. The deputies also discussed Azerbaijan SSR draft laws on introducing changes and additions to legislation on the election of republic people's deputies and local soviets deputies and on introducing changes and additions to certain republican laws.

Azerbaijan Economy Shows Signs of Recovery

904A0500A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jul 90 Second Edition p 2

[Article by M. Gurtovoy: "Azerbaijan: A Farewell to Administrative Rodents"]

[Text] It seems that Baku is coming back after the bloody January shock, despite women in black weeping in some continuous, never-ending cry on graves dug up right in the midst of parks. The dense wind of Baku carries this cry to the mountain gardens of Karabakh where fruit trees have grown wild in the past three years and to the pastures of Kedabek where huge shaggy-haired shepherd dogs, who have also grown wild, have begun to tear the sheep apart. The lilac winds of the mountains blow to Baku from there, but they smell of trotyl rather than mulberry and wild myrobalan.

Still, Baku is coming back to life. The Shemakha beauties are beginning to smile once again with their inimitable smiles, aloof and sweet at the same time, and the pace of conversations in the tea houses has become as deliberate and majestic as before. However, the main point is that the pace which is picking up in the plants of Baku is hopeful. Here is the temperature chart of industrial recovery. In January and February, losses due to strikes amounted to R800 million. By now, one enterprise in five has made up the output it failed to turn out. Contractual deliveries have been almost 90 percent fulfilled. Compared with last year, the volume of production even increased by R50 million. The "Bakelektronpribor" Production Association not only managed to make up for the lag, but also produced 7,000 household refrigerators and 8,500 compressors above the half-year plan. The commissioning of living space built with the funds of enterprises increased by a factor of almost two.

As local specialists believe, the fact that the processes of economic emancipation have begun is one of the reasons for an economic recovery. Here is the Baku Consumer Goods Combine, the largest enterprise in the republic which has entirely switched to leasing. This happened several days ago. The fight for independence took three years, all of this despite the fact that Z. Abdulayev, chairman of the board of the Azerbaijan Union of Consumer Societies to which the combine reports is himself a courageous experimenter and an avid supporter and sponsor of economic innovations.

The director of the combine, N. Eyvazov, told us: "We were fighting an invisible enemy. Decisions were hampered someplace at the top, the papers kept coming back for endless revisions.... However, by now the wall has fallen. We sew R10 million worth of highly fashionable footwear and clothes from fir and leather together with the cooperative association "Ada" which was organized at the combine. We have set up a commercial center with a turnover of R5 million. This is where we 'get the bugs out' of experimental batches and study demand. Changes have become perceptible literally in recent months. It appears that our hands begin to be untied."

The head of the Socioeconomic Department of the Central Committee of the republic Communist Party, Academician Z. Samed-zade, said: "The situation with this combine is quite typical. I am certain that they were just afraid 'to let it go' because those who are used to giving commands in the economy understood and understand full-well: If one link comes undone, the chains are no more." He did not begin the discussion of the economic independence of the republic with either numbers or macroeconomic concepts:

"As we see it, economic independence cannot exist only on the scale of a republic. It may only exist everywhere, at every enterprise, every work station, and even in every family, so that everyone would know that he can display enterprise, mental and manual dexterity within the framework of the law—we have passed laws on economic independence, property, and leasing. Nobody but allah is in a position to interfere. The sum of economically independent units will give us overall prosperity. If you will, this is what my ideal is."

I was not surprised by the fact that an economist known in our country viewed psychological aspects as being foremost. Several years ago, I happened to be working on a case of the destruction of a cooperative in Khachmasskiy Rayon of Azerbaijan. There they went as far as to plow over the lovingly cultivated and sown fields. Nothing could be accomplished there, despite the fact that the Council of Ministers allocated the land to the members of the cooperative and the courts of all levels rose to their defense. A conversation with Faradzhev, who was the first secretary of a party raykom [rayon committee] there, was memorable. When I came to Khachmas at the time, I learned that people were herded to weed the vegetable plantations of sovkhozes [state farms] under the escort of militiamen. The rayon was seething, and the outrage was reaching a critical degree. At the same time, a central newspaper published an essay whose title was exactly "The Faradzhev Principles." He was portrayed to the readers as an impeccable party leader of a new type and a fighter against corruption and wheeler-dealers.

He ominously tapped this newspaper on the table, telling me frankly about those of his principles which the author of the essay failed to mention:

"What do you mean by economic methods.... This is when the wife of a cooperative member wears a leather coat which my wife does not have.... These methods of work will not do in my rayon...."

He had to flee the rayon from the angry citizens of Khachmas.

Academician Samed-zade said: "Unfortunately, Khachmas is no exception. That secretary was thrown out. However, many leaders who confuse feudalism and socialism have remained. Will they really put up with independent producers of goods? They are exactly the ones who need to drive him to an underground shop, to the shadow economy in order to draw their income from him. At present, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan is fighting on two fronts, against 'yesterday's people' who are clinging to power and are ready for any provocation, and at the same time against those who call for autarky, for economic isolation. While setting forth the principles of sovereignty, we invite all informals to a 'roundtable.' Let us argue our positions, statistics in hand. The time of declarations is gone. A dialogue with all political currents whose programs contain even a hint at being constructive—this is the style of work we are now trying to develop in the Central Committee."

Ziyad Aliabbasovich heads the plan and budget commission of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet. I asked him about the attitudes of parliament members.

"An overwhelming majority are in favor of forming a Union federation on a new 'market' basis. However, if we want to avoid new conflicts, it is necessary to take into account the fact that initial conditions for a transition to a market economy in union republics are far from similar. This has developed as a result of serious miscalculations and shortcomings in the strategy and tactics of our regional policy. Given the growth of national self-awareness, these issues increasingly often come up in the arena; they frequently become the objects of political speculations and destabilize the situation. We entirely support the concept of creating a special union fund for regional development."

The readers may wish to ask this question: Will this fund be advantageous for, say, only Transcaucasia and Central Asia? While working on this article, we learned about the opinion of the economists of the Baltic area. They also believe it is necessary to create a union reserve system. Member of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Estonian Academician M. Bronshteyn is convinced that there should be as many as three such funds. One should be a bank fund. The second should be a reserve fund which will offset unfavorable conditions for economic operations; that is, provide subsidies for the areas in which production entails additional outlays. This is where a fund should be envisaged for the event of calamities and disasters. Finally, there is a science and innovation fund for financing basic research jointly.

I will end my report from Azerbaijan with a funny but significant event. They stopped shipping white mice to Baku from the capital. The point is that in the settlement of Zyra they breed snakes needed to produce most valuable drugs. The almighty distribution system issued a directive on bringing 800,000 mice from Moscow Oblast for the local blunt-nosed vipers and cobras. Naturally, some of the deliveries were short. Telegrams were sent with government markings. The cowls of hungry cobras and the losses of the budget swelled menacingly. As soon as the ban was lifted, the cooperative "Zoolog" began to breed mice locally, having relieved the state of its concern about directive rodents.

Could it be that the state will have more opportunity to take care of the people?

Russian Parliamentarians Pay Visit to NKAO

NC2807105590 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1800 GMT 27 Jul 90

[Text] As has already been reported, the Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation established a parliamentary commission in connection with the complaints being received from relatives of the servicemen who were recently drafted from that republic and sent to serve in the state of emergency regions. The commission visited hot spots in the country for an on-the-spot inspection of service conditions and to hear the views of local residents on the presence of the Army units.

Four members of the commission visited the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast where they met with local residents. The focus of the conversation was the local population's opposition to the units deployed in the oblast. The participants in the meeting said unequivocally that the troops could remain if they do not interfere in political life. However, if Moscow is truly concerned about the security of Armenians and Azerbaijanis, then national regiments of equal size could be created from the militias of Azerbaijan and Armenia and be deployed along the oblast border. However these units should face inward instead of outward; that is, these units should prevent attacks being launched from their respective territories.

NKAO Response to Mutalibov's Message Viewed

NC2807154890 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 26 Jul 90

[Text] Stepanakert, 26 Jul (ARMENPRES)—Last Tuesday the residents of Stepanakert witnessed a "downpour of paper rain." However, that surprise was not provided by a miracle of nature but by the noble art of politics.

Imagine the surprise of the people of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] when pamphlets thrown from helicopters rained down on their heads in the afternoon. The pamphlets conveyed Azerbaijani President Mutalibov's appeal to the NKAO population, in three languages: Armenian, Azeri, and Russian.

In his appeal, the republic's president expressed the hope that peace will eventually be established in the ancient land of the NKAO. The president called for the restoration of cooperation between the Armenian and Azerbaijani populations of the autonomous oblast. As the pamphlet indicates, by cooperation he means reciprocal assurances on the free national-cultural and economic development of each nation; the exclusion of nationalism, chauvinism, and discrimination on national grounds; joint work on the new law on the status of the NKAO; democratic elections for all levels of soviets; the restoration of the oblast soviet and its executive committee, and so on. The president insists that he is devoted to the peaceful and political resolution of the problem and that the Azerbaijani people and the workers of the republic support him in this regard. In conclusion, Mutalibov expressess the hope that the people of Karabakh will show understanding and support.

How did the people of the NKAO receive that aerial cable, if one can describe it as such?

Rafayel Martirosyan, vice director of the oblast pedagogical institute, told an ARMENPRES correspondent: "If a neutral person—that is, someone who regards the NKAO problem as a mere interethnic conflict—reads the appeal he will most probably wholeheartedly support this step by the Azerbaijani president. However, we, the Armenians of the oblast, are inclined to think otherwise. To begin with, for us the NKAO movement is a sacred tortuous endeavor carried on for decades, and not a question of mere words in a quotation as was indicated in the appeal. Second, our 70 years of existence in Azerbaijan has taught our people to believe the deeds, not the words, of the leadership of that republic. For the last two-and-a-half years that leadership has blockaded those decisions of the center on the NKAO which more or less served the interests of the Armenian majority of the oblast. I personally think that only someone who admits his mistakes could right the wrongs. Unfortunately, I have seen no such admission concerning the violation of the constitutional rights of the NKAO Armenians, despite the fact that the whole world is now aware of that violation. Besides, the president of Azerbaijan again resorts to threats. That is, his call for friendship is in the nature of an ultimatum. Judge for yourself: 'Either we find a common language on our common land or we will be forced to apply the force of the law of the Azerbaijan republic,' the pamphlet stresses. It adds: 'Regardless of social standing and of past services, we will call to account all those who seek to instigate interethnic strife.'

"What can one say? For example, I do not think that the Germans of the FRG and GDR who have expressed the desire to unite are instigating interethnic strife. The Armenians of the NKAO, who want to live in accordance with democratic laws, cannot be blamed if the internationally recognized right of national self-determination is regarded in Azerbaijan as instigation of national strife. Besides, the way the appeal was made also advises caution. One inadvertently recalls the war years. Would it not have been better to recognize the oblast soviet and its executive committee elected by the people instead of resorting to that act, and thus take a real step towards genuine mutual understanding? In fact, everything is done for the opposite effect. The republic's leadership consistently impedes the operations of the oblast and rayon administrative structures and authority. What should we believe in: the 'aerial cable' or the paradoxes of the 'sinful land?'"

Each Armenian in the NKAO is asking himself this fateful question.

Central Asia

Nazarbayev, Delegation Return From U.S.

LD3007175390 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 27 Jul 90

[Text] The delegation from Kazakhstan headed by President of the Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Nursultan Abish-ogly Nazarbayev has returned to Moscow from the United States. During its stay in the United States, at the invitation of the American Trading Consortium for talks on developing economic cooperation, it met many representatives of the administration, business circles, and various sections of the population, and visited several towns in the country. Among the delegation were Abdullayev, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Kazakh SSR State Planning Committee; Abishev, chairman of the republican State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations; Novikov, chairman of Guryev Oblast Soviet Executive Committee, and other soviet and economic officials.

Earthquake Relief Assigned to Kazakhstan

LD3007122790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0330 GMT 30 Jul 90

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers has adopted a resolution on measures to help the Kazakh SSR overcome the aftermath of the earthquake in Semipalatinsk and East Kazakhstan oblasts. A considerable amount of state finances is being allocated to the republic, along with material and technical resources.

Masaliyev Receives Uzbek Delegation in Frunze

LD3007082990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2330 GMT 29 Jul 90

[Text] A delegation of scientific and cultural workers from Uzbekistan has been visiting Frunze, the capital of Kirghizia. The visitors from this fraternal republic were received by Masaliyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic and first secretary of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee. Their talks touched on issues relating to further strengthening cooperation between the creative intelligentsia of Uzbekistan and Kirghizia, and to its role in the stabilization of the situation in Osh Oblast. The Uzbek academics, journalists, and artists visited enterprises in the Kirghiz capital and the republican Academy of Sciences.

Reportage on Interethnic Tension in Osh Oblast

Background Events Viewed

PM3007102590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Report by special correspondents Anatoliy Stepovoy and Gennadiy Shipitko: "Predicted Explosion; Chronicle of Hot Summer in Kirghizia"]

[Excerpt] Osh-Uzgen-Dzhalal-Abad-Frunze—[passage omitted] The entire prehistory of the Osh events attests to the fact that the republic's leadership, whether it wanted to or not, allowed a series of very serious blunders and errors. You only have to recall the expulsion of some Meskhetian Turks from the republic and the ignoring of the interests of another section of the population when adopting the law on the state language. Yet it must be noted that apart from the 52 percent of the republic's population which is Kirghiz, 48 percent consists of representatives of 80 nationalities and ethnic groups. The law on language, adopted hastily and without all-around discussion, reinforces what was implemented for years formerly in practice, without publicity it is true: the selection and placement of cadres and priority for jobs and education strictly on national lines. In Osh Oblast again, where 26 percent of the population is Uzbek, only four percent of leading party posts are held by Uzbeks. There is a similar picture in the soviet and economic organs of the oblast and republic. This situation is backed up by legal acts and operates at the level of daily routine. There are more than enough similar examples of nationality being given priority today.

When the shells of the burned down houses were still smoldering in the south of the republic, when not all the bodies had yet been consigned to the ground, the 19th Kirghiz Communist Party Congress was held in Frunze. A curfew was in operation in the city. The forces of law and order guarded the tranquillity of the delegates.

On hearing the report from A. Masaliyev, leader of the republican party organization and chairman of the Kirghiz Supreme Soviet, and many speeches, the people tried to find answers to the urgent questions. Alas, there were no answers. On the other hand, the inalienable right "to a leading and guiding role" and the "consolidation" of existing sociopolitical structures in society was asserted with full polemical passion.

Nor was any assessment given of the activity of the Central Committee and its leadership. The unremitting accusations against the extremists and the press merely concealed the real reasons and allowed those really to blame for the interethnic tragedy to avoid responsibility.

To our great regret, the congress of Kirgizstan's communists was unable to elaborate a decision on ways of emerging from the impasse in which society has found itself. The further development of events (Dzhalal-Abad, Osh again, and Uzgen) showed the full unconstructiveness and perniciousness of the conclusions and assessments which had been made. A drastic new surge in the destabilization of the situation in South Kirghizia occurred soon after the congress. And could it have been otherwise? Hardly. After all, on leaving the forum, many party, soviet, and economic leaders settled back in their chairs. Even whose who are directly to blame for everything that happened.

Soon, it is true, "disenfranchised" people emerged, those who had lost their leading posts. We believe it is not hard to guess who they are. The selfsame scapegoats who had failed to ensure, failed to see, and missed their opportunity...

Osh Oblast. Chronicle of Events

June. A. Sydykov, first secretary of the Osh Gorkom [city party committee], Zh. Asanov, first secretary of the Uzgenskiy Raykom [rayon party committee], and K. Uzakov, first secretary of the Karasuyskiy Raykom, were dismissed from their posts...

They would have restricted themselves to that, as was the case before. But disorders again broke out in the oblast, the originator of which was the Uzbek section of the population. And then they decided to sacrifice one more figure—Zh. Bekbolotov, chairman of the Osh Oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive committee]. This post has now been entrusted to A. Isabayev, secretary of the party obkom—an Uzbek by nationality. R. Tazhibayev, chief of the oblast internal affairs department, (yes, the same man who warned of a possible interethnic eruption and whom those who have now dismissed him accused of panic-mongering) was also removed from his post.

Meanwhile many of those with whom we talked cited the name of a different culprit whose actions and crimes led directly to the eruption—U. Sydykov, first secretary of the Osh Obkom [oblast party committee]. In less than 18 months U. Sydykov, formerly a party raykom first secretary, has managed to be chairman of the republic's State Agro-Industrial Committee, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, member of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, and, finally, head of the republic's largest party organization.

How did he begin four months ago when he became first secretary of the party obkom and chairman of the oblast soviet? First of all he embarked on the "nationalization" of leading cadres. And the decision to allocate arable land for housing construction only to the Kirghiz section of the Osh population was entirely in the spirit of his ideas of social justice for some at the expense of others. We think that it was no accident that the emergence and consolidation of the positions of the "Osh aymagy" organization coincided with U. Sydykov's return to the oblast in his new capacity.

Meanwhile alarming reports continue to come in from Osh Oblast every day. Riots have started again, houses are being destroyed, and blood is being shed. The conflict threatens to develop into a new spiral of interethnic hostility. How to put an end to all this?

The women who come every day to the front entrance of the obkom and oblast soviet demand one thing: that an end be put to the fratricide and that all the culprits be punished. They are convinced that impunity only leads to new, senseless casualties. They are angry that even six weeks after the start of the conflict scarcely more than 50 participants in the mass riots have been arrested or are being investigated. Yet tens of thousands of people have taken part and are continuing to take part in these riots! But it looks as though no one from the local leadership is heeding their voice.

The conflict in Kirghizia has been continuing unabated for nearly two months. It would seem that only recently we renounced the principle of distributing every single thing on the basis of class. And now it has been replaced by a new principle—distribution according to nationality. This inevitably leads to new confrontation. And there can be no winners in this antagonism.

Osh Oblast. Chronicle of Events

On 25 July over 200 people died with the start of the mass riots. Over 400 people have gone missing. The material damage totaled about 50 million rubles.

The search for paths of conciliation and the return of the refugees continues in Uzgen. There was no success in organizing the population's mass assembly and resolving the acute problem immediately. An internal troops unit has been brought into the city to maintain order. Today an attempt will be made to return the Kirghiz refugees from Zhupas village to Osh city and to return Uzbek refugees from Osh city to Mady village.

The curfew continues to operate in Frunze.

The Osh events, for all their large scale, are merely a tragic episode in the overall picture of aggravated interethnic relations.

Sumgait, Nagornyy Karabakh, Fergana, Novyy Uzen, Abkhazia, Baku, Dushanbe, Tuva... And now the latest site of interethnic crisis—Kirghizia.

To this day, and it is an obvious fact, neither the true culprits of the interethnic conflicts nor the specific forces which undoubtedly stand at the sources of these sociopolitical upheavals have been revealed. It is impunity which is the nutrient medium which nurtures the poisoned seeds of nationalism. And while the competent organs remain onlookers, as it were, to all that is happening it is hard to count on the seats of interethnic tension disappearing of their own accord. The official organs must finally give an exhaustive assessment of all that is taking place and give the public an answer to the glaring question: Who is to blame?

The journalistic investigation carried out by us and the conclusions drawn on the basis of the items collected will, we hope, help this.

Situation 'Gradually Normalizing'

LD3007193690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 30 Jul 90

[Text] The situation in Osh Oblast and Kirghizia is gradually normalizing. All industiral enterprises, organizations, and public transport are operating. The situation in Uzgen Rayon is normalizing too. At the meeting with the commandant, the Uzbek elders discussed questions concerning further improvement in interethnic relations and prevention of new conflicts. The Uzgen city party committee is preparing to hold a session.

Frunze, Other Districts 'Calm'

LD3107065390 Moscow TASS in English 0647 GMT 31 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondent Boris Maynayev]

[Text] Frunze July 31 TASS—The situation is coming back to normal in the Osh region of Kirghizia, a highland Asian republic. An interethnic conflict between Uzbeks and Kirghiz which broke out on June 4 took the toll of more than 200 lives.

There is official information that all enterprises and transport are operating. Stores are open. Hospitals function. The situation in the city of Uzgen, where the ethnic conflict was particularly fierce, is stabilising, too. Kirghiz families started to return to Uzgen. The city council of people's deputies has been formed in Uzgen.

A search is conducted for 84 persons who are missing since July, when a second wave of ethnic clashes broke out.

The situation in the republic's capital, Frunze, and other districts is calm.

New Turkmen Newspaper Published in Ashkhabad

LD2807180490 Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANI in Turkmen 5 Jul 90 p 4

[Excerpt] A new newspaper called the ASHKHABAD AKHSHAMY has been published in Turkmen. Its first issue was published on 2 July. The circulation of the newspaper is 5,000 and its price is three kopecks. [passage omitted]

Uzbek, Kirghiz Communists Discuss Osh Problem

LD3007170390 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 14 Jul 90 p 3

[Text] During the 28th CPSU Congress a meeting took place between a group of Uzbek and Kirghiz delegates. The leaders of the republics exchanged information on the measures taken by the party, soviet, and law and order organs for stabilizing the situation in the region in connection with well known events in Osh Oblast.

The president of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] I.A. Karimov considers the arisen conflict mainly an internal matter of the Kirghiz SSR, but at the same time expressed serious concern over the situation in the adjoining rayons, bordering with Andizhan Oblast, the indecisiveness and indeterminateness of the measures taken for providing a normal life for the population. These events destablize the situation and in all the Ferghana valley.

A.M. Masiliyev on behalf of the leadership of the Kirghiz SSR gave an assurance that decisive and specific measures will be taken for bringing order in the districts of the Osh Oblast.

The participants of the meeting noted a whole series of measures for coordinating further actions, directed at reducing the tension, strengthening the international education of the population, and developing economic and cultural ties.

Ch. Aytmatov, member of the Presidential Council of the USSR and writer, took part in the meeting.

Soviet Muslim Leader on Central Asia Unrest

LD3007213890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1645 GMT 30 Jul 90

[Text] An opinion dominating in the world press, and in our press, too, is that Islamic fundamentalism is on the increase in many countries. Some journalists specializing in the Islamic field are inclined to think that this process is emerging in our country, too. The unrest which has spread through the Central Asian republics is sometimes even linked with this. I shall not act as arbitrator—all the more so in that I am no specialist in Islamic affairs—but I should only like to cite the words of someone who has the most direct and immediate relation to Islam—namely the head of the spiritual administration of Muslims of Central Asia and southern Kazakhstan, Mufti Mukhammadsadyk Mamayusupov, who is touring round Pakistan. The statement by the leader of Soviet Muslims in Islamabad at a meeting with journalists stressed bluntly that the Muslims of Central Asia are devoted to economic and cultural development within the USSR. Mamayusupov also said that the recent unrest in Azerbaijan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Kirgiziya are primarily linked with ethnic problems. They also have their own economic and social roots. But the opponents of Islam, he added, are trying to blame fundamentalists for everything. This will be to the moral detriment of Muslims as a whole.

The mufti spoke in praise of the reforms in the Soviet Union, including those affecting the spiritual sphere. He said that these made it possible for many people to confess Islam openly for the first time in 70 years.

It is expected that during the mufti's visit, an agreement will be signed with Pakistan on assistance in building mosques in Central Asia and religious schools.